



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

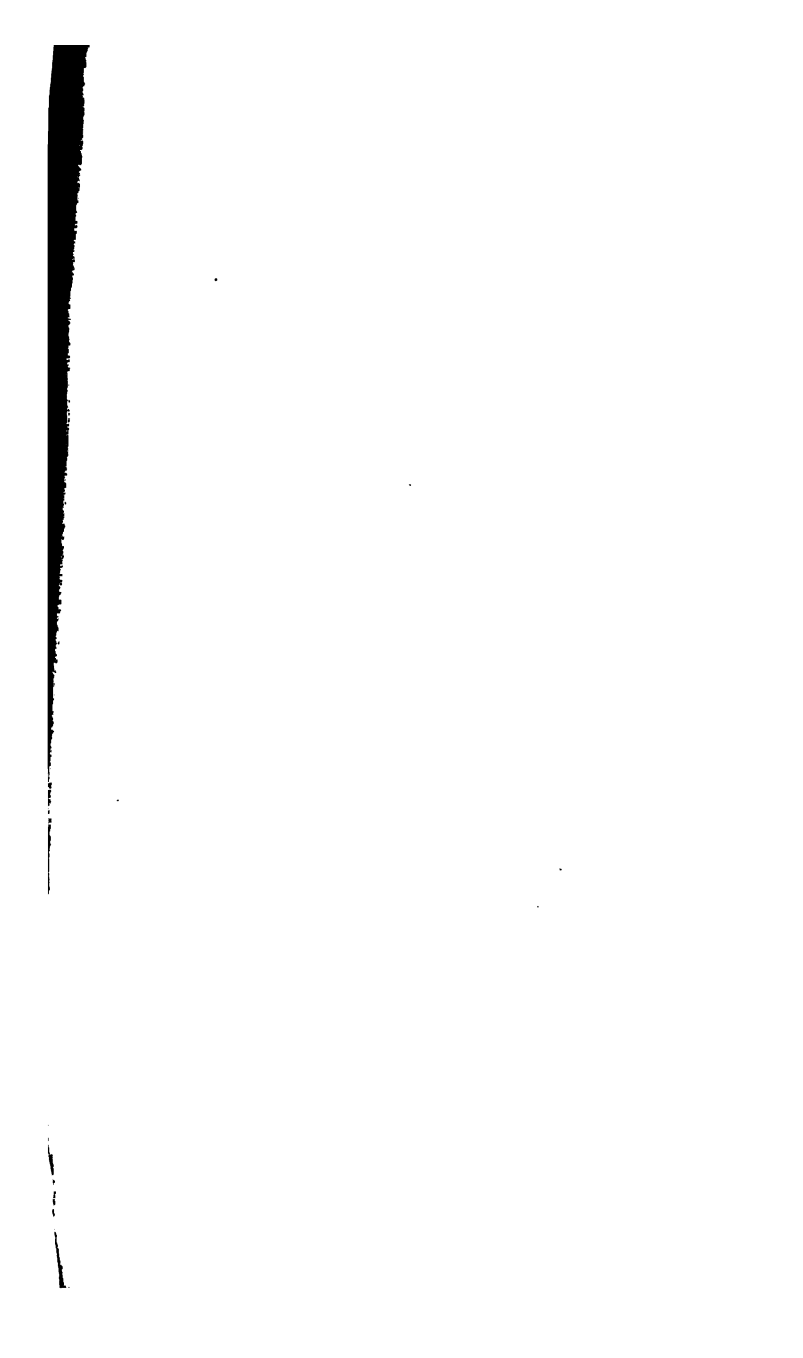
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

*The
Gordon Lester Ford
Collection
Presented by his Sons
Worthington Chauncy Ford
and
Paul Leicester Ford
to the
New York Public Library.*

AGZ

Rogers





AMERICAN

Biographical Dictionary;

OR

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATION
1900.

REMEMBRANCER
OF THE
DEPARTED

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

168390

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATION
1900.

Heroes, Judges, and Statesmen

OF

AMERICA.

Confined Exclusively

TO THOSE WHO SIGNALIZED THEMSELVES

IN EITHER CAPACITY,

*In the Revolutionary War which obtained the Independence
of their country.*

SECOND EDITION.

WITH IMPORTANT ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS.

COMPILED BY T. J. ROGERS.

"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated Ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice: We have counted the cost of this contest, and found nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery."

*Declaration of Congress, setting forth the necessity
of taking up arms—July 6, 1775.*

EASTON, PENN:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THOS. J. ROGERS.

1823.

AGZ

1823

EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, to wit.



BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twenty-seventh day of January in the forty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1823, Thomas J. Rogers, of the said District hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit :

"A new American Biographical Dictionary; or Remembrancer of the departed Heroes, Sages, and Statesmen of America. Combined exclusively to those who signalized themselves in either capacity in the Revolutionary War, which obtained the Independence of their country. Second Edition, with important alterations and additions. Compiled by Thomas J. Rogers.

"We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated Ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and found nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery."

Declaration of Congress setting forth the necessity of taking up arms.—July 6, 1775.

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, intituled; "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned." And also to the act entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned," and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL.

Clerk of the Eastern district of Pennsylvania.

PREFACE.

THE following work contains sketches of the lives and characters of many of those deceased heroes and statesmen, distinguished in the cabinet or the field, during the great and memorable contest which gave freedom and independence to America, and established a government on principles unknown to the old world, the sovereignty of the people. It is intended to perpetuate as well the names as the conduct of many of those distinguished men, whose wisdom and valour gave liberty and independence to our country; in order that *all*, and *particularly our youth*, may become acquainted with the characters and services of those to whom, under Providence, we owe our existence as a nation. The talents, the virtues, and the public services, of those heroes, sages, and patriots, of the revolution, should be impressed, as early as possible, on the minds and hearts of the rising generation, and of the generations that are to come after them, and every endeavour to rescue from oblivion, the men who distinguished themselves, in that eventful period, is worthy of encouragement, perhaps of praise. Garden, in his *Anecdotes of the American revolution*, says, "with such instances of every public, and private virtue, as the history of our own country affords, it is a serious error in our system of education, that our youth receive their *first* ideas of patriotic excellence from the annals of other nations. Familiar with the achievements of the heroes of ancient times, the virtues and services of the worthies of their own country, are seldom or but imperfectly known. Next to their duty towards God, there is not a parent who ought not to impress upon the minds of his children the devotion which is due to their country; and how can this be more effectually done

than to keep in their view from the first dawn of reason, the virtues which have raised the benefactors of their country to immortality."

"The American revolution constitutes one of the epochs from which will be dated a vast amelioration in the destiny of man; and the fame of many illustrious men who were engaged in its cause, will continually increase as the operation of its consequences is extended. Their talents and virtues were exhibited in the senate or the camp, in the forum or the field, with undaunted zeal and heroic constancy. They were courageous, moderate, plain, and incorruptible. They were imbued with a deep sense of religion, which guided and guaranteed all their conduct. They were of unyielding principles, which made them the ornaments of their own age, and will secure to them the admiration of posterity.

"No study can be more useful to the ingenuous youth of the United States, than that of their own history, nor any example more interesting or more safe for their contemplation, than those of the great founders of the republic. Yet, it is feared that this department is too much neglected by them, or only superficially examined. There are certain sentiments indeed, that are learned by rote, while a few prominent names and facts are known and repeated exclusively. When a well known foreign journal, in all the triumph of insolent ignorance, asked, "*who Patrick Henry was?*" we only smiled at its impertinence. But are we entirely exempt from the reproach of neglecting our own annals, for less valuable history?"*

Of those who took part in the revolution, it has been emphatically said, "there were giants in these days." We would implant their memory in the hearts of *our* children, to be handed down to *their* children, in proud remembrance, of the virtues

* *Tudor's life of Otis.*

PREFACE.

and talents of men who never had their superiors. "Never," says the elegant biographer of the eloquent Patrick Henry, 'in any country or in any age, did there exist, a race of men, whose souls were better fitted to endure the trial. Patient in suffering, firm in adversity, calm and collected amidst the dangers which pressed around them, cool in council, and brave in battle, they were worthy of the cause, and the cause was worthy of them.'

In contemplating the characters of such men, our youth will have before them, models of every public and private virtue. Here he who is ambitious of acting a distinguished part in the cabinet, may learn to imitate a Franklin, a Henry, an Adams, a Hancock, and others. Here the soldier, whose ambition is patriotism and glory, may be stimulated to acquire the laurels gained by a Washington, a Greene, a Montgomery, a Wayne, a Warren, a Gates, and their compatriots. And here the seaman may dwell with delight and satisfaction, on the heroic actions of a Biddle and others. It has been well observed that from the galaxy of greatness displayed in our revolution, many a subsequent rising star in our firmament of glory has borrowed much of its splendour. The recital of the deeds of the heroes of '76, has a fascinating influence over the mind of the hearer. The child is beguiled of its tears in listening to the enraptured tales of other times; the youth feels all the influence of patriotic fervour and heroic ardour; and maturer age may be taught, by their example, how to love and serve their country. Nor will the perusal of the rare and valuable state papers, now published, setting forth the causes of the separation from the mother country, be less instructive. From them we learn the true principles of government, "which was instituted to protect man in his life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed."

The Introduction contains a succinct account of the events which led to the rupture between Great Britain and her then colonies. The declaration of 1775, and the other papers which emanated from congress, during the revolutionary contest, contain the manful remonstrances of freemen against oppression; an elegant and eloquent exposition of the rights of the people, and of the causes which impelled our fathers to the separation. The biographies of the sages and heroes, contain much instructive history of the revolution; calculated to incite the young, instruct the old, and improve the moral character of the nation, by holding up to public view and imitation, portraits of virtue and patriotism, of which the history of mankind affords no brighter examples. To which is added the farewell address of WASHINGTON, in which we may read with delight and instruction, the advice of the father of our country, and the importance and necessity of preserving the union of our confederated republic.

Such is the work, and such the views of the compiler. The former edition having been disposed of, the present, considerably improved, is now offered as a class book, in our schools and other seminaries of learning. He conceives it eminently fitted for an *American School Book*; well suited to the capacity of youth, and inculcating principles which correspond with our institutions. Placed in the hands of our youth, he trusts it may excite their minds to emulate the patriots, sages, and statesmen, whose memory it commemorates, and lead them to seek for models of excellence at home instead of abroad. It is in fact a *National* work, calculated to promote a national feeling in the youthful mind, as well as to interest those who are more advanced in years.

INTRODUCTION.

As the present edition is intended for the use of schools, and as it is calculated to give the youth a correct account of the transactions which took place, as well as a biographical sketch of many of those illustrious patriots, whose wisdom in council and valour in battle, obtained the independence of our country, it may be well, in a summary mode, to trace the current of events, from the origin of the plan of taxing America, up to July 6, 1775, when the declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, was issued. Tudor, in his History of Otis, gives us the following interesting anecdote: "When president Adams was minister at the court of St. James, he often saw his countryman Benjamin West, the late president of the royal academy. Mr. West always retained a strong and unyielding affection for his native land. Mr. West one day asked Mr. Adams, if he should like to take a walk with him, and see the cause of the American revolution. The minister having known something of this matter, smiled at the proposal, but told him that he should be glad to see the cause of that revolution, and to take a walk with his friend West, any where. The next morning he called according to agreement, and took Mr. Adams into Hyde Park, to a spot near the Serpentine river, where he gave him the following narrative. The king came to the throne a young man, surrounded by flattering courtiers; one of whose frequent topics it was, to declaim against the meanness of his palace, which was wholly unworthy a monarch of such a country as England. They said that there was not a sovereign in Europe who was lodged so poorly, that his sorry, dingy, old, brick palace of St. James, looked like a stable, and that he ought to build a palace suitable to his kingdom. The king was fond of archi-

ture, and would therefore more readily listen to suggestions, which were in fact all true. This spot that you see here, was selected for the site, between this and this point, which were marked out. The king applied to his ministers on the subject; they inquired what sum would be wanted by his majesty, who said, that he would begin with a million; they stated the expenses of the war, and the poverty of the treasury, but that his majesty's wishes should be taken into full consideration. Some time afterwards the king was informed, that the wants of the treasury were too urgent to admit of a supply from their present means, but that a revenue might be raised in America to supply all the king's wishes. This suggestion was followed up, and the king was in this way first led to consider, and then to consent, to the scheme for taxing the colonies."

In 1764, the British parliament passed resolutions, preparatory to laying a tax on the colonies, by a stamp act. In March, 1765, the famous stamp act was passed, to take effect in the colonies on the first of November following. This was the first act of the mother country, which created alarm, and which eventually caused a separation of these states from Great Britain. It passed the house of Commons by a majority of two hundred votes. The bill met with no opposition in the house of lords. The very night the act passed, Dr. Franklin, who was then in London, wrote to Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary to congress:—*"The sun of liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy."* To which Mr. Thompson answered: *"Be assured we will light torches of quite another sort."* He here predicted the opposition and convulsions, that were about to follow that odious act. The torch of the revolution was indeed very soon lighted. When the information of the passage of the act reached the colonies, the assembly of Virginia was the only

one in session; and Virginia led the way in opposition to it. The resolutions offered by Patrick Henry, assumed a lofty and open ground against taxation. In New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, the same opposition was manifested, and indeed the whole continent was in a flame. It spread from breast to breast, till the conflagration became general. The legislature of Massachusetts met on the last day of May, 1765. A committee reported the expediency of having a general meeting of "committees," from the several assemblies of the colonies, to be held at New-York, in October following. They also resolved to send circulars to the several assemblies, requesting their concurrence. Twenty-eight deputies, from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina, met at New York, on Monday the 7th of October, 1765. They passed resolutions expressing their motives and principles, and declared their exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives. They also agreed upon a petition to the king, a memorial to the house of lords, and a petition to the house of commons.

From the decided opposition to this act, and the indignation manifested against it, in all parts of the colonies, it was deemed proper to repeal it. It was accordingly repealed on the 18th of March, 1766. Much opposition, however, was made to its repeal. Several speakers in both houses of parliament, denied the right of taxing the colonies. Mr. Pitt, afterwards lord Chatham, said, "it is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. We are told that America is obstinate, almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. The

Americans have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No; let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper." He concluded by saying that it was his opinion that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately.

In 1767, an act passed the British parliament, laying a heavy duty on tea, glass, paper, and other articles. This act re-kindled the resentment and excited a general opposition among the people of the colonies; and they contended that there was no real difference between the principle of the new act and the stamp act. This act produced resolves, petitions, &c. similar to those with which the colonies opposed the stamp act, and in various parts, particularly in Massachusetts, on the suggestion of *Samuel Adams*, it was agreed not to import and consume British manufactures.

In 1769, both houses of parliament passed a joint address to his majesty, approbatory of his measures, and that they would support him in such further measures as might be found necessary, to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws in Massachusetts-Bay. The assembly of Virginia, in this year, passed resolutions complaining of the recent acts of parliament, and remonstrated against the right of transporting the free born subjects of America to England, to be tried for alledged offences committed in the colonies. In 1770, on the 2d of March, the Boston massacre took place.

In 1773, the people of Boston, who were determined not to pay duties on tea, collected in a town meeting, and resolved that the tea should not be landed. At the dissolution of the meeting, about twenty persons, in the disguise of Mohawk Indians, went on board some ships, broke open 342 chests of tea, and discharged their contents into the water. In Philadelphia, where the spirit of op-

INTRODUCTION.

xi

position, although not less deep, was less long, they unloaded some of the cargoes and stored the tea in damp cellars, where it soon moulded. When the cargoes were returned from New York and Philadelphia. When the news of the destruction of the tea reached England, they determined to punish the people of Boston. In 1774, a bill was passed in parliament, called the Boston port bill, to discontinue the landing or shipping of any goods, wares, or merchandize, at the harbour of that city. This was followed by an act authorizing the quartering of soldiers in the houses of the citizens. General Gage, in character of commander in chief of the royal forces, and governor of Massachusetts, arrived at Boston, with a military force, to enforce the acts of the parliament. Fortifications were erected, and the ammunition and stores in Cambridge and Charleston, were seized and secured.

The words whigs and tories were now introduced, to distinguish the names of the parties. By the former, were meant those who were for supporting the colonies in their opposition to the tyrannical acts of the British parliament. By the latter, those who were in favour of Great Britain and opposed to resistance.

During these commotions, the first congress of delegates, chosen and appointed by the several colonies and provinces, met at Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was unanimously elected president, and Charles Thompson, secretary. On the 27th September, congress unanimously resolved, that from and after the 1st of December, 1774, there should be no importation from Great Britain or Ireland, of British goods, &c. On the 8th of October, it was resolved that the congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, to the execution of the obnoxious acts of parliament. An address to the

people of Great Britain, one to the people of Canada, another to the inhabitants of the colonies, and a petition to the king, were agreed to. On the 22d of September, they passed a resolution recommending delegates to meet again, at Philadelphia, on the 10th May, 1775. The congress was then dissolved.

On the 10th May, 1775, the delegates from the several colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, assembled at the state house in Philadelphia, when Peyton Randolph, was a second time unanimously elected president, and Charles Thompson, secretary. A few days after they met, Mr. Randolph being under the necessity of returning home, John Hancock, of Massachusetts, was unanimously elected president. On the 26th May, congress resolved, that the colonies be immediately put in a state of defence; that another petition to the king, and a letter to the people of Canada, be prepared, which were adopted. In June, congress resolved to raise several companies of riflemen, &c. and that a general should be appointed to command all the continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty; and GEORGE WASHINGTON, was unanimously elected. Congress, at the same time, resolved, that they would maintain, assist, and adhere to George Washington, with their lives and fortunes, in the same cause. It was also resolved, to put the militia of America in a proper state of defence. On the 6th of July, they adopted a declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms. When the concluding paragraph of this address was read to general Putnam's division, which he had ordered to be paraded on Prospect Hill, they shouted in three huzzas, a loud AMEN!

Then follow the most important state papers which emanated from the revolutionary congress, and which follow in succession in our work.

A NEW
AMERICAN
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

IN CONGRESS, PHILADELPHIA, JULY 6, 1775.

A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA, SETTING FORTH THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF THEIR TAKING UP ARMS.

Directed to be published by General Washington, upon his arrival at the camp before Boston.

If it was possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity,

and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and na-

vigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions, that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty be-

yond their ancient limits ; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property ; for suspending the legislature of one of the Colonies ; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another ; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown ; for exempting the “ murderers ” of colonists from legal trial, and in effect, from punishment ; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence ; and for quartering soldiers upon the Colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that Colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail ? By one statute it is declared, that parliament can “ of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever.” What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power ? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us ; or is subject to our control or influence ; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants ; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true ;

but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the king, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy : but subsequent events have shewn, how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses among a bundle of American papers, and there-neglected. The lords and commons in their address, in the month of February, said that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature." Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole Colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coast, on which they always depended

for their sustenance; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to general Gage.

Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where Colony should bid against Colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that would be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, general Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town

of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the general, their governor, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms, with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms: but, in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The general, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to "declare them all either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial." His troops have

butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that general Carleton, the governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province, and the Indians, to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these Colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. *The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.* Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God,

and the world DECLARE, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties : *being with one mind resolved to die FREEMEN rather than to live SLAVES.*

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it ; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his Divine good-

ness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 8, 1775.

TO THE
KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these Colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, intreat your majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking.

the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavorable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these Colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union, hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal Colonists having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations adopted for the administration of the Colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country. For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities that have from time to time been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past, the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these Colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of our still faithful Colonists, that when we consider what we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required, by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your majesty; and we therefore pray, that your majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable constructions of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent in their full force, the sentiments that

agitate the minds of us, your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect, with a just attention to our own preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your majesty's person, family, and government, with all devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and suffering every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty, that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these Colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory, that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave farther to assure your majesty, that, notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal Colonists, during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might, in any manner, be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honor and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now

oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects, on this continent, ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty and of our mother country.

We therefore beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient for facilitating the important purposes, that your majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that, in the mean time, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your majesty's colonies, may be repealed.

For, by such arrangements as your majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honour to themselves, and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

IN CONGRESS, MARCH 16, 1776.

A PROCLAMATION.

THE Congress, considering the warlike preparations of the British ministry, to subvert our invaluable rights and privileges, and to reduce us, by fire and sword, by the savages of the wilderness and our own domestics, to the most abject and ignominious bondage ; desirous, at the same time, to have people of all ranks and degrees duly impressed with a solemn sense of God's superintending Providence, and of their duty devoutly to rely in all their lawful enterprises on his aid and direction, do earnestly recommend that Friday, the 17th day of May next, be observed by the said colonies, as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer ; that we may, with united hearts, confess and bewail our manifold sins and transgressions, and by a sincere repentance and amendment of life, appease his righteous displeasure, and, through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, obtain his pardon and forgiveness, humbly imploring his assistance to frustrate the cruel purposes of our unnatural enemies ; and by inclining their hearts to justice and benevolence, prevent the further effusion of kindred blood. But, if continuing deaf to the voice of reason and humanity, and inflexibly bent on desolation and war, they constrain us to repel their hostile invasions by open resistance, that it may please the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies, to animate our officers and soldiers with invincible fortitude, to guard and protect them in the day of battle, and to crown the continental arms, by sea and land, with victory and success. Earnestly beseeching him to bless our civil rulers, and the representatives of the people in their several assemblies and conventions, to preserve and strengthen their union ; to inspire

them with an ardent, disinterested love of their country; to give wisdom and stability to their councils, and direct them to the most efficacious measures for establishing the rights of America on the most honorable and permanent basis; that he would be graciously pleased to bless all the people in these colonies with health and plenty; and grant that a spirit of incorruptible patriotism, and of pure undefiled religion, may universally prevail: and this continent be speedily restored to the blessings of peace and liberty, and enabled to transmit them inviolate to the latest posterity. And it is recommended to Christians of all denominations, to assemble for public worship, and abstain from servile labour on the said day.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, govern-

ments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments, long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right

inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise, the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

For protecting them by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their

friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, **FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES** ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally

dissolved ; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members :

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple.
Matthew Thornton,

Massachusetts Bay.

Samuel Adams, John Adams,
Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island, &c.

Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut.

Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington,
William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York.

William Floyd, Philip Livingston,
Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey.

Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon,
Francis Hopkinson, John Hart.
Abraham Clark,

Pennsylvania.

Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush,
Benjamin Franklin, John Morton,
George Clymer, James Smith,
George Taylor, James Wilson.
George Ross,

Delaware.

Cesar Rodney, George Read.
Thomas M'Kean,

Maryland.

Samuel Chase, William Paca,
Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, Carrltr.

Virginia.

George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee,
Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison,
Thomas Nelson, jr. Francis Lightfoot Lee:
Carter Braxton,

North Carolina.

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes.
John Penn,

South Carolina.

Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, jr.
Thomas Lynch, jr. Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.

Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall.
George Walton,

Resolved, That copies of the declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army.

It will be seen that Congress was, from the beginning, attentive to the commemoration of the declaration of Independence. It appears by the journals, that in the year 1777, an adjournment took place from Thursday, the 3d of July, to Saturday, the 5th. And, on the 24th of June, 1778, Congress having determined to adjourn from York Town, in Pennsylvania, to meet at Philadelphia on the 2d of July following, passed the subjoined resolution; in which it was farther resolved, that congress would, in a body, attend divine worship on Sunday, the 5th day of July, to return thanks for the divine mercy, in supporting the independence of the states, and that the chaplains should be notified to officiate and preach sermons suited to the occasion:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appoint-

ed to take proper measures for a public celebration of the anniversary of independence at Philadelphia, on the 4th day of July next ; and that they be authorised and directed to invite the president and council, and speaker of the assembly of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and such other gentlemen and strangers of distinction, as they shall deem proper.

IN CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 1, 1777.

A PROCLAMATION.

FORASMUCH as it is the indispensable duty of all men to adore the superintending Providence of Almighty God ; to acknowledge, with gratitude, their obligation to him for benefits received, and to implore such farther blessings as they stand in need of ; and it having pleased Him, in his abundant mercy, not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of his common providence, but also smile upon us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war, for the defence and establishment of our unalienable rights and liberties ; particularly in that he hath been pleased in so great a measure to prosper the means used for the support of our troops, and to crown our arms with most signal success : it is therefore recommended to the legislative or executive powers of these United States, to set apart Thursday, the 18th day of December next, for solemn thanksgiving and praise ; that with one heart and one voice, the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor ; and that together with their sincere acknowledgments and offerings, they may join the penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favour and their humble and

earnest supplication that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance ; that it may please him graciously to afford his blessings on the governments of these states respectively, and prosper the public council of the whole ; to inspire our commanders, both by land and sea, and all under them, with that wisdom and fortitude which may render them fit instruments, under the Providence of Almighty God, to secure for these United States, the greatest of all blessings, independence and peace ; that it may please him to prosper the trade and manufactures of the people, and the labour of the husbandman, that our land may yield its increase ; to take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue and piety, under his nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion, for the promotion and enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

And it is further recommended, that servile labour and such recreation as, though at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment, be omitted on so solemn an occasion.

IN CONGRESS, MAY 8, 1778.

AN ADDRESS

Of the Congress, to the Inhabitants of the United States of America.

Friends and Countrymen,

THREE years have now passed away, since the commencement of the present war. A war without parallel in the annals of mankind. It hath dis-

played a spectacle, the most solemn that can possibly be exhibited. On one side, we behold fraud and violence labouring in the service of despotism ; on the other, virtue and fortitude supporting and establishing the rights of human nature.

You cannot but remember how reluctantly we were dragged into this arduous contest ; and how repeatedly, with the earnestness of humble intreaty, we supplicated a redress of our grievances from him who ought to have been the father of his people. In vain did we implore his protection : In vain appeal to the justice, the generosity, of Englishmen ; of men, who had been the guardians, the assertors, and vindicators of liberty through a succession of ages : Men, who, with their swords, had established the firm barrier of freedom, and cemented it with the blood of heroes. Every effort was vain. For, even whilst we were prostrated at the foot of the throne, that fatal blow was struck, which hath separated us forever. Thus spurned, contemned and insulted ; thus driven by our enemies into measures, which our souls abhorred ; we made a solemn appeal to the tribunal of unerring wisdom and justice. To that Almighty Ruler of Princes, whose kingdom is over all.

We were then quite defenceless. Without arms, without ammunition, without clothing, without ships, without money, without officers skilled in war ; with no other reliance but the bravery of our people and the justice of our cause. We had to contend with a nation great in arts and in arms, whose fleets covered the ocean, whose banners had waved in triumph through every quarter of the globe. However unequal this contest, our weakness was still farther increased by the enemies which America had nourished in her bosom. Thus exposed, on the one hand, to external force and internal divisions ; on the other to be compelled to drink of the bitter cup of slavery, and to go sor-

rowing all our lives long ; in this sad alternative, we chose the former. To this alternative we were reduced by men, who, had they been animated by one spark of generosity, would have disdained to take such mean advantage of our situation ; or, had they paid the least regard to the rules of justice, would have considered with abhorrence a proposition to injure those, who had faithfully fought their battles, and industriously contributed to rear the edifice of their glory.

But, however great the injustice of our foes in commencing this war, it is by no means equal to that cruelty with which they have conducted it. The course of their armies is marked by rapine and devastation. Thousands, without distinction of age or sex, have been driven from their peaceful abodes, to encounter the rigours of inclement seasons ; and the face of heaven hath been insulted by the wanton conflagration of defenceless towns. Their victories have been followed by the cool murder of men, no longer able to resist ; and those who escaped from the first act of carnage have been exposed, by cold, hunger and nakedness, to wear out a miserable existence in the tedious hours of confinement, or to become the destroyers of their countrymen, of their friends, perhaps, dreadful idea ! of their parents or children. Nor was this the outrageous barbarity of an individual, but a system of deliberate malice, stamped with the concurrence of the British legislature, and sanctioned with all the formalities of law. Nay, determined to dissolve the closest bonds of society, they have stimulated servants to slay their masters in the peaceful hour of domestic security. And, as if all this were insufficient to slake their thirst of blood, the blood of brothers, of unoffending brothers, they have excited the Indians against us ; and a general, who calls himself a christian, a follower of the merciful Jesus, hath dared to proclaim to all the

world, his intention of letting loose against a whole hosts of savages, whose rule of warfare promiscuous carnage; who rejoice to murder the infant smiling in its mother's arms; to inflict on their prisoners the most excruciating torments, and exhibit scenes of horror from which nature recoil.

Were it possible, they would have added to this terrible system, for they have offered the inhabitants of these states to be exported by their merchants to the sickly, baneful climes of India, there to perish. An offer not accepted of, merely from the impracticability of carrying it into execution.

Notwithstanding these great provocations, we have treated such of them as fell into our hands with tenderness, and studiously endeavoured to alleviate the afflictions of their captivity. This conduct we have pursued so far, as to be by them stimulated with cowardice, and by our friends with folly. But our dependance was not upon man. It was upon Him, who hath commanded us to love our enemies and to render good for evil. And what can be more wonderful than the manner of our deliverance? How often have we been reduced to distress, and yet been raised up? When it means to prosecute the war have been wanting, we, have not our foes themselves been rendered instrumental in providing them? This hath been done in such a variety of instances, so peculiarly marked almost by the direct interposition of Providence, that not to feel and acknowledge his protection, would be the height of impious ingratitude.

At length that God of battles, in whom was our trust, hath conducted us through the paths of danger and distress, to the thresholds of security. It has now become morally certain, that, if we have courage to persevere, we shall establish our liberty and independence. The haughty prince who spurred us from his feet with contumely and disdain, and the parliament which proscribed us, now d

scend to offer terms of accommodation. Whilst in the full career of victory, they pulled off the mask, and avowed their intended despotism. But having lavished in vain the blood and treasure of their subjects, in pursuit of this execrable purpose, they now endeavour to ensnare us with the insidious offers of peace. They would seduce you into a dependance which, necessarily, inevitably leads to the most humiliating slavery. And do they believe that you will accept these fatal terms? Because you have suffered the distresses of war, do they suppose that you will basely lick the dust before the feet of your destroyers? Can there be an American so lost to the feelings which adorn human nature? To the generous pride, the elevation, the dignity of freedom! Is there a man who would not abhor a dependance upon those, who have deluged his country in the blood of its inhabitants? we cannot suppose this, neither is it possible that they themselves can expect to make many converts.—What then is their intention? Is it not to lull you with the fallacious hopes of peace, until they can assemble new armies to prosecute their nefarious designs? If this is not the case, why do they strain every nerve to levy men throughout their islands? Why do they meanly court every little tyrant of Europe to sell them his unhappy slaves? Why do they continue to embitter the minds of the savages against you? Surely this is not the way to conciliate the affections of America. Be not, therefore, deceived. You have still to expect one severe conflict. Your foreign alliances, though they secure your independence, cannot secure your country from desolation, your habitations from plunder, your wives from insult or violation, nor your children from butchery. Foiled in their principal design, you must expect to feel the rage of disappointed ambition. Arise then! to your tents! and gird you for battle. It is time to turn the headlong

current of vengeance upon the head of the destroyer. They have filled up the measure of their abominations, and like ripe fruit must soon drop from the tree. Although much is done, yet much remains to do. Expect not peace, whilst any corner of America is in possession of your foes. You must drive them away from the land of promise, a land flowing indeed with milk and honey. Your brethren at the extremities of the continent, already implore your friendship and protection. It is your duty to grant their request. They hunger and thirst after liberty. Be it yours to dispense the heavenly gift. And what is there now to prevent it?

After the unremitted efforts of our enemies, we are stronger than before. Nor can the wicked emissaries, who so assiduously labour to promote their cause, point out any one reason to suppose that we shall not receive daily accessions of strength. They tell you, it is true, that your money is of no value; and your debts so enormous they can never be paid. But we tell you, that if Britain prosecutes the war another campaign, that single campaign will cost her more than we have hitherto expended. And yet these men would prevail upon you to take up that immense load, and for it to sacrifice your dearest rights. For, surely, there is no man so absurd as to suppose, that the least shadow of liberty can be preserved in a dependant connexion with Great Britain. From the nature of the thing it is evident, that the only security you could obtain, would be, the justice and moderation of a parliament, who have sold the rights of their own constituents. And this slender security is still farther weakened, by the consideration that it was pledged to rebels (as they unjustly call the good people of these states) with whom they think they are not bound to keep faith by any law whatsoever. Thus would you be cas-

bound among men, whose minds, by your virtuous resistance, have been sharpened to the keenest edge of revenge. Thus would your children and your children's children, be by you forced to a participation of all their debts, their wars, their luxuries, and their crimes. And this mad, this impious system, they would lead you to adopt, because of the derangement of your finances.

It becomes you deeply to reflect on this subject. Is there a country upon earth, which hath such resources for the payment of her debts, as America? Such an extensive territory; so fertile, so blessed in its climate and productions. Surely there is none. Neither is there any, to which the wise Europeans will sooner confide their property. What then are the reasons that your money hath depreciated? Because no taxes have been imposed to carry on the war. Because your commerce hath been interrupted by your enemies fleets. Because their armies have ravaged and desolated a part of your country. Because their agents have villainously counterfeited your bills. Because extortioners among you, inflamed with the lust of gain, have added to the price of every article of life. And because weak men have been artfully led to believe that it is of no value. How is this dangerous disease to be remedied? Let those among you, who have leisure and opportunity, collect the monies which individuals in their neighborhood are desirous of placing in the public funds. Let the several legislatures sink their respective emissions, that so, there being but one kind of bills, there may be less danger of counterfeits. Refrain a little from purchasing those things which are not absolutely necessary, that so those who have engrossed commodities may suffer (as they deservedly will) the loss of their ill gotten hoards, by reason of the commerce with foreign nations, which the fleets will protect. Above all, bring forward your armies

into the field. Trust not to appearances of peace or safety. Be assured, that unless you persevere, you will be exposed to every species of barbarity. But, if you exert the means of defence which God and nature have given you, the time will soon arrive, when every man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid.

The sweets of a free commerce with every part of the earth will soon reimburse you for all the losses you have sustained. The full tide of wealth will flow in upon your shores, free from the arbitrary impositions of those, whose interest and whose declared policy it was to check your growth. Your interests will be fostered and nourished by governments, that derive their power from your grant, and will therefore be obliged, by the influence of cogent necessity, to exert it in your favour.

It is to obtain these things that we call for your strenuous, unremitted exertions. Yet do not believe that you have been or can be saved merely by your own strength. No ! it is by the assistance of Heaven ; and this you must assiduously cultivate, by acts which Heaven approves. Thus shall the power and the happiness of these Sovereign, Free, and Independent States, founded on the virtue of their citizens, increase, extend and endure, until the Almighty shall blot out all the empires of the earth.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the ministers of the gospel, of all denominations, to read or cause to be read, immediately after divine service, the above address to the inhabitants of the United States of America, in their respective churches and chapels, and other places of religious worship.

IN CONGRESS, OCTOBER 30, 1778:

By the Congress of the United States of America.

A MANIFESTO.

THESE United States having been driven to hostilities by the oppressive and tyrannous measures of Great Britain; having been compelled to commit the essential rights of man to the decision of arms; and having been, at length, forced to shake off a yoke which had grown too burdensome to bear, they declared themselves free and independent.

Confiding in the justice of their cause; confiding in him who disposes of human events, although weak and unprovided, they set the power of their enemies at defiance.

In this confidence they have continued through the various fortune of three bloody campaigns, unawed by the power, unsubdued by the barbarity of their foes. Their virtuous citizens have borne, without repining, the loss of many things which make life desirable. Their brave troops have patiently endured the hardships and dangers of a situation, fruitful in both beyond former example.

The congress, considering themselves bound to love their enemies, as children of that Being who is equally the father of all; and desirous, since they could not prevent, at least to alleviate, the calamities of war, have studied to spare those who were in arms against them, and to lighten the chains of captivity.

The conduct of those serving under the king of Great Britain hath, with some few exceptions, been diametrically opposite. They have laid waste the open country, burned the defenceless villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their prisons have been the slaughter-houses of her soldiers;

their ships of her seamen, and the severest injuries have been aggravated by the grossest insults.

Foiled in their vain attempt to subjugate the unconquerable spirit of freedom, they have meanly assailed the representatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and the servility of adulation. They have made a mock of humanity, by the wanton destruction of men; they have made a mock of religion, by impious appeals to God whilst in the violation of his sacred commands; they have made a mock even of reason itself, by endeavouring to prove that the liberty and happiness of America could safely be intrusted to those, who have sold their own, unawed by the sense of virtue or of shame.

Treated with the contempt which such conduct deserved, they have applied to individuals; they have solicited them to break the bonds of allegiance, and embroil their souls with the blackest of crimes; but, fearing that none could be found through these United States, equal to the wickedness of their purpose, to influence weak minds, they have threatened more wide devastation.

While the shadow of hope remained, that our enemies could be taught, by our example, to respect those laws which are held sacred among civilized nations, and to comply with the dictates of a religion, which they pretend, in common with us, to believe and to revere, they have been left to the influence of that religion and that example. But since their incorrigible dispositions cannot be touched by kindness and compassion, it becomes our duty by other means to vindicate the rights of humanity.

We, therefore, the Congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter

others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions ; and, in His holy presence, we declare, that as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger and revenge, so through every possible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination.

IN CONGRESS, OCTOBER 26, 1781.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, it hath pleased Almighty God, the father of mercies, remarkably to assist and support the United States of America, in their important struggle for liberty, against the long continued efforts of a powerful nation: it is the duty of all ranks to observe and thankfully to acknowledge the interpositions of his providence in their behalf.— Through the whole of the contest, from its first rise to this time, the influence of Divine Providence may be clearly perceived, in many signal instances, of which we mention but a few.

In revealing the councils of our enemies, when the discoveries were seasonable and important, and the means seemingly inadequate or fortuitous : in preserving and even improving the union of the several states, on the breach of which our enemies placed their greatest dependance : in increasing the number, and adding to the zeal and attachment to the friends of liberty : in granting remarkable deliverances, and blessing us with the most signal success, when affairs seemed to have the most discouraging appearance : in raising up for us a powerful and generous ally, in one of the first of the European powers : in confounding the councils of our enemies, and suffering them to pursue such

measures as have most directly contributed to frustrate their own desires and expectations : above all, in making their extreme cruelty to the inhabitants of these states, when in their power, and their savage devastation of property, the very means of cementing our union, and adding vigour to every effort in opposition to them.

And as we cannot help leading the good people of these states, to a retrospect on the events which have taken place since the beginning of the war, so we recommend, in a particular manner, to their observation, the goodness of God in the year now drawing to a conclusion. In which the confederation of the United States has been completed : in which there have been so many instances of prowess and success in our armies ; particularly in the southern states, where, notwithstanding the difficulties with which they had to struggle, they have recovered the whole country which the enemy had overrun, leaving them only a port or two, on or near the sea ; in which we have been so powerfully and effectually assisted by our allies, while in all the conjunct operations the most perfect harmony has subsisted in all the allied army : in which there has been so plentiful a harvest, and so great abundance of the fruits of the earth of every kind, as not only enables us easily to supply the wants of our army, but gives comfort and happiness to the whole people : and in which, after the success of our allies by sea, a general of the first rank, with his whole army has been captured by the allied forces under the direction of our commander in chief.

It is therefore recommended to the several states, to set apart the thirteenth day of December next, to be religiously observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayer ; that all the people may assemble on that day, with grateful hearts, to celebrate the praises of our gracious benefactor ; to confess our manifold sins ; to offer up our most fervent suppli-

cations to the God of all grace, that it may please him to pardon our offences, and incline our hearts for the future to keep all his laws: to comfort and relieve all our brethren who are in distress or captivity; to prosper our husbandmen, and give success to all engaged in lawful commerce; to impart wisdom and integrity to our councillors, judgment and fortitude to our officers and soldiers: to protect and prosper our illustrious ally; and favour our united exertions for the speedy establishment of a safe, honourable and lasting peace; to bless all seminaries of learning; and cause the knowledge of God to cover the earth, as the waters cover the seas.

IN CONGRESS, OCTOBER 18, 1783.

By the United States in Congress assembled;

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, it hath pleased the Supreme Ruler of all human events, to dispose the hearts of the late belligerent powers, to put a period to the effusion of human blood, by proclaiming a cessation of all hostilities by sea and land, and these United States are not only happily rescued from the dangers and calamities to which they have been long exposed, but their freedom, sovereignty and independence, ultimately acknowledged. And whereas, in the progress of a contest on which the most essential rights of human nature depended, the interposition of Divine Providence in our favour hath been most abundantly and most gloriously manifested, and the citizens of these United States have every reason for praise and gratitude to the God of their salvation. Impressed, therefore, with an

exalted sense of the blessings by which we are surrounded, and our entire dependance on that Almighty Being from whose goodness and bounty they are derived, the United States, in Congress assembled, do recommend it to the several States, to set apart the second Thursday in December next, as a day of public thanksgiving, that all the people may then assemble to celebrate with grateful hearts and united voices, the praises of their Supreme and all bountiful Benefactor, for his numberless favours and mercies. That he hath been pleased to conduct us in safety through all the perils and vicissitudes of the war ; that he hath given us unanimity and resolution to adhere to our just rights ; that he hath raised up a powerful ally to assist us in supporting them, and hath so far crowned our united efforts with success; that in the course of the present year, hostilities have ceased, and we are left in the undisputed possession of our liberty and independence, and of the fruits of our land, and in the free participation of the treasures of the sea; that he hath prospered the labour of our husbandmen with plentiful harvests; and above all, that he hath been pleased to continue to us the light of the blessed gospel, and secured to us in the fullest extent, the rights of conscience in faith and worship. And while our hearts overflow with gratitude, and our lips set forth the praises of our great Creator, that we also offer up fervent supplications, that it may please him to pardon all our offences, to give wisdom and unanimity to our public councils; to cement all our citizens in the bonds of affection, and to inspire them with an earnest regard for the national honour and interest, to enable them to improve the days of prosperity by every good work, and to be lovers of peace and tranquility ; that he may be pleased to bless us in our husbandry, our commerce, and navigation; to smile upon our seminaries and means of education ; to cause pure reli-

gion and virtue to flourish; to give peace to all nations, and to fill the world with his glory.

GENERAL ORDERS

ISSUED BY GENERAL WASHINGTON, TO THE ARMY
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Head Quarters, April 18, 1783.

THE commander in chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the king of Great Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow at twelve o'clock, at the new building: and that the proclamation which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his over-ruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.

Although the proclamation before alluded to, extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the annunciation of a general peace, yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest, stops the effusion of human blood, opens the prospect to a more splendid scene, and, like another morning star, promises the approach of a brighter day than hath hitherto illuminated the western hemisphere. On such a happy day, which is the harbinger of peace, a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice; it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

The commander in chief, far from endeavouring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion to all the officers of every denomination; to all the troops of the United States in general; and in particular to those gallant and persevering men who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country, so long as the war should continue. For these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army; and who, crowned with well earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil walks of civil life. While the commander in chief recollects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have passed, with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude; while he contemplates the prospects before us with rapture, he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution; of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act, under the smiles of Providence, on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy! shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous fabric of freedom and empire, on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions. The glorious task for which we first flew to arms being accomplished; the liberties of our country being fully acknowledged, and firmly secured, by the smiles of heaven on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people, determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them;

and the character of those who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *patriot army*; nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect unvarying consistency of character through the very last act, to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men, which have crowned all their former virtuous actions. For this purpose no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated. Every considerate and well disposed soldier must remember, it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience until peace shall be declared, or Congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores, &c. As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the general is confident, there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honour, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The general has already interested himself in their behalf; and he thinks he need not repeat the assurance of his disposition, to be useful to them on the present, and every other proper occasion. In the mean time, he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished, while he retains the command of the army.

The adjutant-general will have such working parties detached, to assist in making the preparations for a general rejoicing, as the chief engineer of the army shall call for; and the quarter-master-general will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the war. He will please to apply to head quarters for the form. An extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow to drink, "Perpetual peace and happiness to the United States of America."

FAREWELL ADDRESS

OF GENERAL WASHINGTON, TO THE ARMIES OF
THE UNITED STATES.

Rocky-Hill, near Princeton, November 2, 1783.

The United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful services, having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow; which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers, for the information and government of all concerned, it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States, (however widely dispersed individuals who compose them may be) and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight view of the past. He will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct, which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment, (at a period earlier than could have been expected,) of the object for which we contended, against so for-

midable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparralleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not in the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses, which, in several instances, have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs.

Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstance which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness—events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action; nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness, could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education, to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceeds the power of description : And shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers, who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those, who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts, so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to

pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit; yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct: let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause; let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence, and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still incite the men who composed them to honourable actions, under the persuasion, that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance and enterprise, were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much, of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost forever: yet he cannot help repeating, on this occasion, so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it, as his last injunction, to every officer and every soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours, to those of his worthy fellow-citizens towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence, as a nation, so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change his military character into that of the citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour, which has general-

ly distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war; from their good sense and prudence, he anticipates the happiest consequences, and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks, in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their council, on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers, for their great zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action; to the various branches of the army, the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could, with propriety, be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these, his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's fa-

yours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to him, will be closed forever.

*General Washington to the President of Congress
resigning his commission—December 23, 1783.*

MR. PRESIDENT—

The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which however, was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

The successful termination of the war, has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family could have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress.

I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

The Answer of General Mifflin, the President of Congress, to the foregoing Speech.

SIR—The United States in congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding

the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes: you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered, till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in safety, freedom, and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world; having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessing of your fellow citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care: That your days may be happy, as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which the world cannot give.

ADAMS, SAMUEL, one of the most distinguished patriots of the American revolution, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the 22d of September, 1722. His ancestors were among the first settlers in New England. His parents were highly respectable. His father was, for many years, a representative for the town of Boston, in the Massachusetts house of Assembly, in which he was annually elected till his death.

Samuel Adams received the rudiments of a liberal education at the grammar school under the care of Mr. Lovell, where he was remarkably attentive to his studies. His conduct was similar while he was at college, and during the whole term he had to pay but one fine, and this was for not attending morning prayers, in consequence of having overslept himself. By a close and steady application, he made considerable proficiency in classical learning, logic, and natural philosophy; but as he was designed for the ministry, a profession to which he seems to have been much inclined, his studies were particularly directed to systematic divinity. Why Mr. Adams did not assume the clerical character, so congenial to his views and habits does not appear. In 1740, and 1743, the respective degrees of bachelor and master of arts were conferred upon him. On the latter occasion, he proposed the following question for discussion, "whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?" He maintained the affirmative of this proposition, and thus evinced, at this period of his life, his attachment to the liberties of the people. While he was a student, his father allowed him a regular stipend. Of this, he saved a sufficient sum, to publish, at his own expense, a pamphlet, called "Englishmen's Rights."

He was put an apprentice to the late Thomas Cushing, an eminent merchant. For this profes-

sion he was ill adapted, and it received but a small share of his attention. The study of politics was his chief delight. At this time he formed a club, each member of which agreed to furnish a political essay for a newspaper called the Independent Advertiser. These essays brought the writers into notice, who were called, in derision, "the Whipping Post Club."

His limited knowledge of commerce rendered him incompetent to support himself by that pursuit. His father, however, gave him a considerable capital, with which he commenced business. He had not been long in trade when he credited one of his countrymen with a sum of money. This person, soon after, met with heavy calamities, which he represented to Mr. Adams, who never demanded the amount, although it was nearly half the value of his original stock. This, and other losses, soon consumed all he had.

At the age of twenty-five, his father died, and, as he was the oldest son, the care of the family and management of the estate, devolved upon him.

Early distinguished by talents, as a writer, his first attempts were proofs of his filial piety. By his efforts he preserved the estate of his father, which had been attached on account of an engagement in the land bank bubble. He became a political writer during the administration of Shirley, to which he was opposed, as he thought the union of so much civil and military power, in one man, was dangerous. His ingenuity, wit, and profound argument, are spoken of with the highest respect by those who were contemporary with him. At this early period he laid the foundation of public confidence and esteem.

It may be proper to mention that his first office in the town was that of tax-gatherer, which the opposite party in politics often alluded to, and in their controversies would style him Samuel the

Publican. While the British regiments were in town, the tories enjoyed a kind of triumph, and invented every mode of burlesquing the popular leaders: but, where the people tax themselves, the office of collector is respectable; it was, at that time, given to gentlemen who had seen better days, and needed some pecuniary assistance, having merited the esteem and confidence of their fellow townsmen. Mr. Adams was ill qualified to fill an office which required such constant attention to pecuniary matters; and, his soul being bent on politics, he passed more time in talking against Great Britain than in collecting the sums due to the town. He grew embarrassed in his circumstances, and was assisted, not only by private friends, but by many others who knew him only as a spirited partisan in the cause of liberty.

From this time, the whigs were determined to support him to the utmost of their power. He had been always on their side, was firm and sagacious, one of the best writers in the newspapers, ready upon every question, but especially conversant with all matters which related to the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies.

We have said that there was a private political club in Boston, where decisive measures originated; which gave a secret spring and impulse to the motions of the public body, and that Mr. Adams was one of the patriotic conclave. This confederacy came to a determination to resist every infringement of their rights. The stamp act was a flagrant violation of them, and to suffer it quietly to be carried into effect, would establish a precedent, and encourage further proceedings of a similar nature. Mr. Adams was one of those who opposed it in every step. He was not averse to the manner in which the people evinced their determinate opposition, by destroying the stamped papers and office in Boston; but he highly disapproved of the riots and

disorders which followed, and personally aided the civil power to put a stop to them.

The *taxes* upon *tea, oil, and colours*, were still more odious to the Americans than the *stamp act*; especially to the inhabitants of Boston, where the board of commissioners was established. The people looked to Mr. Adams as one of the champions of liberty, who must stand forth against every claim of Great Britain, and deny the right of the parent state to lay a tax; nor were they disappointed. He was so strenuous in his exertions to make the people sensible of their charter privileges, that he obtained the appellation of the patriot *Samuel Adams*.

In 1765, he was elected a member of the general assembly of Massachusetts. He was soon chosen clerk, and he gradually acquired influence in the legislature. This was an eventful time. But Mr. Adams possessed a courage which no dangers could shake. He was undismayed by the prospect, which struck terror into the hearts of many. He was a member of the legislature near ten years, and he was the soul which animated it to the most important resolutions. No man did so much. He pressed his measures with ardour; yet he was prudent; he knew how to bend the passions of others to his purpose.

The congress which assembled at New York, at this period, was attributed to a suggestion made by Mr. Adams. It has been said, with confidence, that he was the first man who proposed it in Massachusetts.

In consequence of the act imposing duties, in 1767, Mr. Adams suggested a non-importation agreement with the merchants. This was agreed to, and signed by nearly all of them in the province. They bound themselves, if the duties were not repealed, not to import, or to order any, but certain enumerated articles, after the first of January, 1769.

On the evening of the fifth of March, 1770, an affray took place between the military quartered in Boston, and some citizens, which resulted in a loss of lives on both sides. On the following morning, a public meeting was called, and Samuel Adams addressed the assembly, with that impressive eloquence which was so peculiar to himself. The people, on this occasion, chose a committee to wait upon the lieutenant governor, to require that the troops be immediately withdrawn from the town. The mission, however, proved unsuccessful, and another resolution was immediately adopted, that a new committee be chosen to wait a second time upon governor Hutchinson, for the purpose of conveying the sense of the meeting in a more peremptory manner. Mr. Adams acted as chairman. They waited on the lieutenant governor, and communicated this last vote of the town; and, in a speech of some length, Mr. Adams stated the danger of keeping the troops longer in the capital, fully proving the illegality of the act itself; and enumerating the fatal consequences that would ensue, if he refused an immediate compliance with the vote. Lieutenant governor Hutchinson, with his usual prevarication, replied, and soundly asserted, that there was no illegality in the measure; and repeated, that the troops were not subject to his authority, but that he would direct the removal of the twenty-ninth regiment.— Mr. Adams again rose: The magnitude of the subject, and the manner in which it was treated by lieutenant governor Hutchinson, had now roused the impetuous feelings of his patriotic soul. With indignation strongly expressed in his countenance, and in a firm, resolute, and commanding manner, he replied, “that it was well known, that, acting as governor of the province, he was, by its character, the commander in chief of his majesty’s military and naval forces, and as such, the troops

were subject to his orders; and if he had the power to remove one regiment, he had the power to remove both, and nothing short of this would satisfy the people, and it was at his peril, if the vote of the town was not immediately complied with, and if it be longer delayed, he, alone, must be answerable for the fatal consequences that would ensue." This produced a momentary silence. It was now dark, and the people were waiting in anxious suspense for the report of the committee. A conference in whispers followed between lieutenant governor Hutchinson and colonel Dalrymple. The former, finding himself so closely pressed, and the fallacy and absurdity of his arguments thus glaringly exposed, yielded up his positions, and gave his consent to the removal of both regiments; and colonel Dalrymple pledged his word of honour, that he would begin his preparations in the morning, and that there should be no unnecessary delay, until the whole of both regiments were removed to the castle.

At a very early period of the controversy between the mother country and the colonies, Mr. Adams was impressed with the importance of establishing committees of correspondence. In 1766, he made some suggestions on this subject in a letter to a friend in South Carolina; but it was found to be either impracticable or inexpedient before the year 1772, when it was first adopted by Massachusetts, on a motion of Mr. Adams at a public town meeting in Boston. This plan was followed by all the provinces. Mr. Adams's private letters may have advanced this important work. In a letter to Richard Henry Lee, Esq. of Virginia, which, unfortunately, is without a date, is the following remark: "I would propose it for your consideration, whether the establishment of committees of correspondence among the several towns in every colony, would not tend to promote the general union."

upon which the security of the whole depends."— It will be remembered that the resolutions for the establishment of this institution in Virginia, were passed March 12, 1773, which was more than four months subsequently to the time it had been formed in Boston.

Every method had been tried to induce Mr. Adams to abandon the cause of his country, which he had supported with so much zeal, courage, and ability. Threats and caresses had proved equally unavailing. Prior to this time there is no certain proof that any direct attempt was made upon his virtue and integrity, although a report had been publicly and freely circulated, that it had been unsuccessfully tried by governor Bernard. Hutchinson knew him too well to make the attempt. But governor Gage was empowered to make the experiment. He sent to him a confidential and verbal message by colonel Fenton, who waited upon Mr. Adams, and after the customary salutations, he stated the object of his visit. He said that an adjustment of the disputes which existed between England and the colonies, and a reconciliation, was very desirable, as well as important to the interests of both. That he was authorized from governor Gage to assure him, that he had been empowered to confer upon him such benefits as would be satisfactory, upon the condition, that he would engage to cease in his opposition to the measures of government. He also observed, that it was the advice of governor Gage, to him, not to incur the further displeasure of his majesty; that his conduct had been such as made him liable to the penalties of an act of Henry VIII. by which persons could be sent to England for trial of treason, or misprison of treason, at the discretion of a governor of a province, but by changing his political course, he would not only receive great personal advantages, but would thereby make his

peace with the king. Mr. Adams listened with apparent interest to this recital. He asked colonel Fenton if he would truly deliver his reply as it should be given. After some hesitation he assented. Mr. Adams required his word of honour, which he pledged.

Then rising from his chair, and assuming a determined manner, he replied, "I trust I have long since made MY PEACE WITH THE KING OF KINGS. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell governor Gage, IT IS THE ADVICE OF SAMUEL ADAMS TO HIM, no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

With a full sense of his own perilous situation, marked out an object of ministerial vengeance, labouring under severe pecuniary embarrassment, but fearless of consequences, he steadily pursued the great object of his soul, the liberty of the people.

The time required bold and inflexible measures. Common distress required common counsel. The aspect was appalling to some of the most decided patriots of the day. The severity of punishment which was inflicted on the people of Boston, by the power of England, produced a melancholy sadness on the friends of American freedom. The Massachusetts house of Assembly was then in session at Salem. A committee of that body was chosen to consider and report the state of the province. Mr. Adams, it is said, observed, that some of the committee were for mild measures, which he judged no way suited to the present emergency. He conferred with Mr. Warren, of Plymouth, upon the necessity of spirited measures, and then said, "do you keep the committee in play, and I will go and make a caucus by the time the evening arrives, and do you meet me." Mr. Adams secured a meeting of about five principal members of

the house at the time specified, and repeated his endeavours for the second and third nights, when the number amounted to more than thirty. The friends of the administration knew nothing of the matter. The popular leaders took the sense of the members in a private way, and found that they would be able to carry their scheme by a sufficient majority. They had their whole plan completed, prepared their resolutions, and then determined to bring the business forward; but, before they commenced, the door-keeper was ordered to let no person in, or suffer any one to depart. The subjects for discussion were then introduced by Mr. Adams, with his usual eloquence on such great occasions. He was chairman of the committee, and reported the resolutions for the appointment of delegates to a general congress to be convened at Philadelphia, to consult on the general safety of America. This report was received by surprise and astonishment by the administration party. Such was the apprehension of some, that they were apparently desirous to desert the question. The door-keeper seemed uneasy at his charge, and wavering with regard to the performance of the duty assigned to him. At this critical juncture, Mr. Adams relieved him, by taking the key and keeping it himself. The resolutions were passed, five delegates, consisting of Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, and James Bowdoin, were appointed, the expense was estimated, and funds were voted for the payment. Before the business was finally closed, a member made a plea of indisposition, and was allowed to leave the house. This person went directly to the governor, and informed him of their high-handed proceedings. The governor immediately sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly, who found the door locked. He demanded entrance, but was answered, that his desire could not be

complied with, until some important business, then before the house, was concluded. Finding every method to gain admission ineffectual, he read the order on the stairs for an immediate dissolution of the assembly. The order, however, was disregarded by the house. They continued their deliberations, passed all their intended measures, and then obeyed the mandate for dissolution.

The battle of Lexington, which took place on the 19th of April, 1775, now announced the commencement of the revolutionary war. Adams and Hancock were in Lexington the very night the British troops left Boston. To gain possession of the papers of Messrs. Adams and Hancock, who lodged together in the village, was one of the motives, it is said, of the expedition which led to that memorable conflict. The design, though covered with great secrecy, was anticipated, and the victims escaped upon the entrance of their habitation by the British troops. General Joseph Warren, who was the first victim of rank who fell in the revolutionary contest with Great Britain, despatched an express, at ten o'clock at night, to Adams and Hancock, to warn them of their danger. A friend of Mr. Adams spread a report that he spake with pleasure on the occurrences of the 19th of April.—“It is a fine day,” said he, walking in the field after the day dawned. “Very pleasant,” answered one of his companions, supposing him to be contemplating the beauties of the sky. “I mean,” he replied, “THIS DAY IS A GLORIOUS DAY FOR AMERICA.” So fearless was he of consequences, so intrepid was he in the midst of danger, so eager to look forward to the lustre of events that would succeed the gloom which then involved the minds of the people. Mr. Adams had been a member of the continental congress the preceding year. In this situation he rendered the most important services to his country. His eloquence was well adapted

to the times in which he lived. The energy of his language corresponded with the firmness and vigour of his mind. His heart glowed with the feelings of a patriot, and his eloquence was simple, majestic and persuasive. He was one of the most efficient members of congress. He possessed keen penetration, unshaken fortitude, and permanent decision.

After many unavailing efforts, both by threats and promises, to allure this inflexible patriot from his devotion to the sacred cause of independence, governor Gage, at length, on the 12th of June, issued that memorable proclamation, of which the following is an extract. "In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last effort within the bounds of my duty, to spare the further effusion of blood, to offer, and I do hereby in his majesty's name offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to all persons, who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, *Samuel Adams*, and *John Hancock*, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." This was a diploma, conferring greater honours on the individuals, than any other which was within the power of his Britannic majesty to bestow.

In a letter dated April, 1776, at Philadelphia, while he was in congress, to major Hawley of Massachusetts, he said, "I am perfectly satisfied of the necessity of a public and explicit declaration of independence. I cannot conceive, what good reason can be assigned against it. Will it widen the breach? This would be a strange question after we have raised armies and fought battles with the British troops; set up an American navy, permitted the inhabitants of these colonies to fit out armed vessels to capture the ships, &c. belonging

to any of the inhabitants of Great Britain: declaring them the enemies of the United Colonies. and torn into shivers their acts of trade, by allowing commerce, subject to regulations to be made by ourselves, with the people of all countries, except such as are subject to the British king. It cannot, surely, after all this, be imagined, that we consider ourselves, or mean to be considered by others, in any other state, than that of independence."

In another letter to James Warren, Esq. dated Baltimore, December 31, 1776, he said, "I assure you, business has been done since we came to this place, more to my satisfaction than any or every thing done before, excepting the Declaration of Independence, which should have been made immediately after the 19th of April, 1775."

The character of Mr. Adams had become celebrated in foreign countries. In 1773, he had been chosen a member of the society of the bill of rights in London; and in 1774, John Adams and doctor Joseph Warren were elected on his nomination.

Mr. Adams was a member of the continental congress when the declaration of independence was made. He was a warm and ardent friend of that measure, and supported it with great zeal.

In the year 1777, our patriots encountered many difficulties. It was at this critical juncture, after Congress had resolved to adjourn from Philadelphia to Lancaster. that some of the leading members accidentally met in company with each other. A conversation in mutual confidence ensued. Mr. Adams, who was one of the number, was cheerful and undismayed at the aspect of affairs, while the countenances of his friends were strongly marked with the desponding feelings of their hearts. The conversation naturally turned upon the subject which most engaged their feelings. Each took occasion to express his opinions on the situation of the public cause. Mr. Adams listened in silence

till they had finished. He then said, "Gentlemen, your spirits appear to be heavily oppressed with our public calamities. I hope you do not despair of our final success?" It was answered, "That the chance was desperate." Mr. Adams replied, "if this be our language, it is so, indeed. If we wear long faces, they will become fashionable.—Let us banish such feelings, and show a spirit that will keep alive the confidence of the people. Better tidings will soon arrive. Our cause is just and righteous, and we shall never be abandoned by Heaven while we show ourselves worthy of its aid and protection."

At this time there were but twenty-eight of the members of Congress present at Philadelphia. Mr. Adams said, "that this was the smallest, but the truest Congress, they ever had."

But a few days had elapsed, when the news arrived of the glorious success at Saratoga, which gave a new complexion to our affairs, and confidence to our hopes.

Soon after this, lord Howe, the earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, arrived as commissioners to treat for peace, under lord North's conciliatory proposition. Mr. Adams was one of the committee chosen by congress to draught an answer to their letter. In this, it is related, "That congress will readily attend to such terms of peace, as may consist with the honour of an independent nation."

In 1779, Samuel Adams was placed, by the state convention, on a committee, to prepare and report a form of government for Massachusetts. By this committee he and John Adams were appointed a sub-committee to furnish a draught of the constitution. The draught produced by them was reported to the convention, and, after some amendments, accepted. The address of the convention to the people was jointly written by them

In 1787, he was chosen a member of the Massa

Massachusetts convention for the ratification of the constitution of the United States. He had some objections to it in its reported form; the principal of which was to that article which rendered the several states amenable to the courts of the nation. He thought that this would reduce them to mere corporations. There was a very powerful opposition to it, and some of its most zealous friends and supporters were fearful that it would not be accepted.

Mr. Adams had not then given his sentiments upon it in the convention, but regularly attended the debates.

Some of the leading advocates waited upon Mr. Adams to ascertain his opinions and wishes, in a private manner. Mr. Adams stated his objections, and stated that he should not give it his support, unless certain amendments were recommended to be adopted. These he enumerated. Mr. Adams prepared his amendments, which were brought before the convention, and referred to a committee, who made some inconsiderable alterations, with which the constitution was accepted. Some of these were afterwards agreed to as amendments, and form, at present, a part of that instrument.

In 1789, he was elected lieutenant governor of the state of Massachusetts, and continued to fill that office till 1794, when he was chosen governor of that state. He was annually re-elected till 1797, when, oppressed with years and bodily infirmities, he declined being again a candidate; and retired to private life.

After many years of incessant exertion, employed in the establishment of the independence of America, he died on the 3rd October, 1803, in the 82d year of his age, in indigent circumstances.

Though poor he possessed a lofty and incorruptible spirit, and looked with disregard upon riches, if not with contempt; while at the same time he

did not attempt to disguise that reputation and popular influence were the great objects of his ambition.

His private morals were pure, his manners grave and austere, and his conversation, which generally turned on public characters and events, bold, decided, and sometimes coarse. Besides the occurrences of the passing day, he is said to have had three topics of conversation on which he delighted to expatiate, and to have always dwelt upon with great earnestness; British oppression, the manners, laws, and customs of New England, and the importance to every republican government, of public schools for the instruction of the whole population of the state.

The person of Samuel Adams was of the middle size. His countenance was a true index of his mind, and possessed those lofty and elevated characteristics, which are always found to accompany true greatness.

He was a steady professor of the Christian religion, and uniformly attended public worship.—His family devotions were regularly performed, and his morality was never impeached.

In his manners and deportment, he was sincere and unaffected; in conversation, pleasing and instructive; and in his friendships, steadfast and affectionate.

His revolutionary labours were not surpassed by those of any individual. From the commencement of the dispute with Great Britain, he was incessantly employed in public service; opposing at one time, the supremacy of "parliament in all cases;" taking the lead in questions of controverted policy with the royal governors; writing state papers from 1765 to 1774; in planning and organizing clubs and committees; haranguing in town meetings, or filling the columns of public prints adapted to the spirit and temper of the times. In addition to these

occupations, he maintained an extensive and laborious correspondence with the friends of American freedom in Great Britain and in the provinces.

His private habits, which were simple, frugal, and unostentatious, led him to despise the luxury and parade affected by the crown officers ; and his detestation of royalty, and privileged classes, which no man could have felt more deeply, stimulated him to persevere in a course, which he conscientiously believed to be his duty to pursue, for the welfare of his country.

The motives by which he was actuated, were not a sudden ebullition of temper, nor a transient impulse of resentment, but they were deliberate, methodical and unyielding. There was no pause, no hesitation, no despondency; every day and every hour, was employed in some contribution towards the main design, if not in action, in writing; if not with the pen, in conversation; if not in talking, in meditation. The means he advised were persuasion, petition, remonstrance, resolutions, and when all failed, defiance and extermination sooner than submission. With this unrelenting and austere spirit, there was nothing ferocious, or gloomy, or arrogant in his demeanor. His aspect was mild, dignified and gentlemanly. In his own state, or in the congress of the union, he was always the advocate of the strongest measures, and in the darkest hour he never wavered or desponded.

No man was more intrepid and dauntless, when encompassed by dangers, or more calm and unmoved amid public disasters and adverse fortune. His bold and daring conduct and language, subjected him to great personal hazards. Had any fatal event occurred to our country, by which she had fallen in her struggle for liberty, Samuel Adams would have been the first victim of ministerial vengeance. His blood would have been first shed as a sacrifice on the altar of tyran-

ny, for the noble magnanimity and independence, with which he defended the cause of freedom. But such was his firmness, that he would have met death with as much composure, as he regarded it with unconcern.

His writings were numerous, and much distinguished for their elegance and fervour; but unfortunately the greater part of them have been lost, or so distributed, as to render their collection impossible.

He was the author of a letter to the earl of Hillsborough; of many political essays directed against the administration of governor Shirley; of a letter in answer of Thomas Paine, in defence of Christianity, and of an oration published in the year 1776. Four letters of his correspondence on government, are extant, and were published in a pamphlet form in 1800.

Mr. Adams's eloquence was of a peculiar character. His language was pure, concise, and impressive. He was more logical than figurative. His arguments were addressed rather to the understanding, than to the feelings; yet he always engaged the deepest attention of his audience. On ordinary occasions, there was nothing remarkable in his speeches; but, on great questions, when his own feelings were interested, he would combine every thing great in oratory. In the language of an elegant writer, the great qualities of his mind were fully displayed, in proportion as the field for their exertion was extended; and the energy of his language was not inferior to the depth of his mind. It was an eloquence admirably adapted to the age in which he flourished, and exactly calculated to attain the object of his pursuit. It may well be described in the language of the poet, "thoughts which breathe, and words which burn." An eloquence, not consisting of theatrical gesture, or with the sublime enthusiasm and ardour of patri-

etism; an eloquence, to which his fellow-citizens listened with applause and rapture; and little inferior to the best models of antiquity, for simplicity, majesty, and persuasion.

The consideration of the character of Samuel Adams, when taken in connexion with the uncommon degree of popularity which his name has obtained in this country, may suggest an important moral lesson to those of our youth, whom a generous ambition incites to seek the temple of glory through the thorny paths of political strife. Let them compare him with men confessedly very far his superiors in every gift of intellect, of education, and of fortune: with those who have governed empires, and swayed the fate of nations; and then let them consider how poor and how limited is their fame, when placed in competition with that of this humble patriot. The memory of those men, tarnished as it is by the history of their profligacy, their corruption, and their crimes; is preserved only among the advocates and slaves of legitimacy, while the name of Samuel Adams is enrolled among the benefactors of his country, and repeated with respect and gratitude by the lowest citizens of a free state.

ALLEN, ETHAN, a brigadier general in the revolutionary war, was born in Salisbury, Connecticut. While he was young, his parents emigrated to Vermont. At the commencement of the disturbances in this territory, about the year 1770, he took a bold and active part in favour of the Green Mountain Boys, as the settlers were then called, in opposition to the claims of the government of the state of New York. So obnoxious had he rendered himself, that an act of outlawry against him was passed by the government of that colony, and 500 guineas were offered for his apprehension; but his party was too numerous and too faithful, to permit him to be disturbed by any apprehensions for

his safety. During the period that this subject was agitated, in all the struggles which it occasioned, and in which he took a part, he was uniformly successful. He not only proved a valuable friend to those, whose cause he had espoused, but he was humane and generous towards those with whom he had to contend. When called to take the field, he showed himself an able leader and an intrepid soldier.

The news of the battle of Lexington determined colonel Allen to engage on the side of his country, and inspired him with the desire of demonstrating his attachment to liberty by some bold exploit.—While his mind was in this state, a plan for taking Ticonderoga and Crown Point by surprise, which was formed by several gentlemen in Connecticut, was communicated to him, and he readily engaged in the project. Receiving directions from the general assembly of Connecticut, to raise the green mountain boys, and conduct the enterprise, he collected 200 of the hardy settlers, and proceeded to Castleton. Here he was unexpectedly joined by colonel Arnold, who had been commissioned by the Massachusetts' committee to raise 400 men and effect the same object, which was now about to be accomplished. As he had not raised the men, he was admitted to act as assistant to colonel Allen. They reached the lake opposite Ticonderoga on the evening of the 9th of May, 1775. With the utmost difficulty, boats were procured, and eighty-three men were landed near the garrison. The approach of day rendering it dangerous to wait for the rear, it was determined immediately to proceed. The commander in chief now addressed his men, representing that they had been, for a number of years, a scourge to arbitrary power, and famed for their valor; and concluded with saying, "I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through the wicket gate, and you that will go

with me voluntarily in this desperate attempt, poise your firelocks." At the head of the centre file he marched instantly to the gate, where a sentry snapped his gun at him, and retreated through the covered way; he pressed forward into the fort, and formed his men on the parade in such a manner as to face two opposite barracks. Three huzzas awakened the garrison. A sentry, who asked quarter, pointed out the apartments of the commanding officer; and Allen, with a drawn sword over the head of captain De la Place, who was undressed, demanded the surrender of the fort. "By what authority do you demand it?" inquired the astonished commander. "I demand it," said Allen, "in the name of the great Jehovah and of the continental congress." The summons could not be disobeyed, and the fort with its very valuable stores and 49 prisoners, was immediately surrendered. Crown Point was taken the same day, and the capture of a sloop of war soon afterwards made Allen and his brave party complete masters of lake Champlain.

In the fall of 1775, he was sent twice into Canada to observe the dispositions of the people, and attach them, if possible, to the American cause. During this last tour, colonel Brown met him, and proposed an attack on Montreal, in concert. The proposal was eagerly embraced, and colonel Allen with 110 men, near 80 of whom were Canadians, crossed the river in the night of the 24th of September. In the morning he waited with impatience for the signal of colonel Brown, who agreed to co-operate with him; but he waited in vain. He made a resolute defence against an attack of 500 men; and it was not till his own party was reduced, by desertions, to the number of 31, and he had retreated near a mile, that he surrendered. A moment afterwards a furious savage rushed towards him, and presented his firelock with the intent of

killing him. It was only by making use of the body of the officer, to whom he had given his sword, as a shield, that he escaped destruction.

He was now kept for some time in irons and treated with great severity and cruelty. He was sent to England as a prisoner, being assured that the halter would be the reward of his rebellion when he arrived there. After his arrival, about the middle of December, he was lodged for a short time in Pendennis castle, near Falmouth. On the 8th of January, 1776, he was put on board a frigate and by a circuitous route carried to Halifax. Here he remained confined in the jail from June to October, when he was removed to New York. During the passage to this place, captain Burke, a daring prisoner, proposed to kill the British captain and seize the frigate; but colonel Allen refused to engage in the plot, and was, probably, the means of preserving the life of captain Smith, who had treated him very politely. He was kept at New York, about a year and a half, sometimes imprisoned and sometimes permitted to be on parole. While here, he had an opportunity to observe the inhuman manner, in which the American prisoners were treated. In one of the churches, in which they were crowded, he saw seven lying dead at one time, and others biting pieces of chips from hunger. He calculated, that of the prisoners taken at Long Island and fort Washington, near 2000 perished by hunger and cold, or in consequence of diseases occasioned by the impurity of their prisons.

Colonel Allen was exchanged for colonel Campbell, May 6, 1778, and after having repaired to head quarters, and offered his services to general Washington in case his health should be restored, he returned to Vermont. His arrival on the evening of the last of May, gave his friends great joy, and it was announced by the discharge of cannon.

As an expression of confidence in his patriotism and military talents, he was very soon appointed to the command of the state militia. It does not appear, however, that his intrepidity was ever again brought to the test, though his patriotism was tried by an unsuccessful attempt of the British to bribe him to attempt a union of Vermont with Canada. He died suddenly at his estate in Colchester, February 13, 1789.

Colonel Allen possessed a mind naturally strong, vigorous and eccentric, but it had not been improved by an early education. He was brave in the most imminent danger, and possessed a bold, daring, and adventurous spirit, which neither feared dangers nor regarded difficulties. He was also ingenuous, frank, generous, and patriotic, which are the usual accompanying virtues of native bravery and courage. He wrote and published a narrative of his sufferings during his imprisonment in England and in New York; comprising also various observations upon the events of the war, the conduct of the British, and their treatment of their prisoners.

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM, commonly called lord Sterling, a major-general in the American army, in the revolutionary war with Great Britain, was a native of the city of New York, but spent a considerable part of his life in New Jersey. He was considered by many as the rightful heir to the title and estate of an earldom in Scotland, of which country his father was a native; and although, when he went to North Britain in pursuit of this inheritance, he failed of obtaining an acknowledgment of his claim by government; yet, among his friends and acquaintances, he received by courtesy the title of lord Sterling. He discovered an early fondness for the study of mathematics and astronomy, and attained great eminence in these sciences.

In the battle on Long-Island, August 27, 1776, he was taken prisoner, after having secured to a large part of the detachment, an opportunity to escape, by a bold attack, with four hundred men, upon a corps under lord Cornwallis. In the battle of Germantown, his division, and the brigades of generals Nash and Maxwell, formed the corps of reserve. At the battle of Monmouth, he commanded the left wing of the American army.—

He died at Albany, January 15, 1783, aged 57 years. He was a brave, discerning, and intrepid officer.

Ramsay, in his history of the American revolution, gives the following account of the battle of Monmouth:

“The royal army passed over the Delaware into New Jersey. General Washington, having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached general Maxwell’s brigade, to co-operate with the Jersey militia, in obstructing their progress, till time would be given for his army to overtake them. The British were incumbered with enormous baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown into their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army, having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, six hundred men were immediately detached, under colonel Morgan, to reinforce general Maxwell. Washington halted his troops, when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general officers in the American army, being asked by the commander in chief, ‘Will it be advisable to hazard a general action?’ answered in the negative, but recommended a detachment of fifteen hundred men, to be immediately sent, to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy’s left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under general Scott. When sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allentown, he determined, instead of

keeping the direct course towards Staten Island, to draw towards the sea coast and to pass on towards Sandy Hook. General Washington, on receiving intelligence that sir Henry was proceeding in that direction towards Monmouth court-house, dispatched one thousand men under general Wayne, and sent the marquis de la Fayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who, having been lately exchanged, had joined the army, was offered this command, but he declined it, as he was in principle against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance, for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light infantry and chaceurs, in his rear, and his baggage in his front. General Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent general Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning orders were sent to Lee, to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles, to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee and proposed certain questions to him, which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander in chief ordered colonel Stewart's and lieutenant colonel Ramsay's battalions, to form on a piece of ground, which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked if he would command on that ground, to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking

the enemy, to which he replied, 'your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field.' Washington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition. A warm cannonade immediately commenced, between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army, and the two battalions which general Washington had halted. These stood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay, the commander of one of them, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

"The check the British received, gave time to make a disposition of the left wing, and second line of the American army in the wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. On this, some cannon were placed by lord Sterling, who commanded the left wing, which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position, on the right of lord Sterling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, with as little success, for Greene with artillery disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired and took the position, which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered General Poor to move round upon their right, and General Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach, before it was dark. These remained on the ground, which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of

attacking early next morning, and the main body lay on their arms in the field to be ready for supporting them. General Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day. But these hopes were frustrated: The British troops marched away in the night, in such silence, that General Poor, though he lay very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them, four officers and about forty privates, all so badly wounded, that they could not be removed. Their other wounded were carried off. The British pursued their march without further interruption, and soon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy-Hook, without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North river. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 250. The loss of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, was about 350. Lieutenant Colonel Monckton, one of the British slain, on account of his singular merit, was universally lamented. Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and major Dickenson of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The emotions of the mind, added to fatigue in a very hot day, brought on such a fatal suppression of the vital powers, that some of the Americans, and fifty-nine of the British, were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence upon their bodies."

ARNOLD, BENEDICT, a major general in the American army, during the revolutionary war, and infamous for deserting the cause of his country, was early chosen captain of a volunteer company in New Haven, Connecticut, where he lived. After hearing of the battle of Lexington, he immediately marched, with his company, for the American head-quarters, and reached Cambridge, April 29, 1775.

He immediately waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety, and informed them of the defenceless state of Ticonderoga. The committee appointed him a colonel, and commissioned him to raise four hundred men, and to take that fortress. He proceeded directly to Vermont, and when he arrived at Castleton was attended by one servant only. Here he joined colonel Allen, and on the 10th of May, the fortress was taken.

In the fall of 1775, he was sent by the commander in chief to penetrate through the wilderness of the district of Maine, into Canada. On the 16th of September, he commenced his march with about one thousand men, consisting of New England infantry, some volunteers, a company of artillery, and three companies of riflemen. One division was obliged to return, or it would have perished by hunger. After sustaining almost incredible hardships he, in six weeks, arrived at Point Levi, opposite to Quebec. The appearance of an army, emerging from the wilderness, threw the city into the greatest consternation. In this moment of surprise Arnold might probably have become master of the place, but the small crafts and boats in the river were removed out of his reach.

It seems that his approach was not altogether unexpected. He had, imprudently, a number of days before, sent forward a letter to a friend by an Indian, who betrayed him. A delay of several days on account of the difficulty of passing the river was inevitable, and the critical moment was lost.

On the 14th of November, he crossed the St. Lawrence in the night; and, ascending the precipice, which Wolfe had climbed before him, formed his small corps on the height, near the memorable plains of Abraham. With only about seven hundred men, one third of whose muskets had been rendered useless in the march through the wilder-

ness, success could not be expected. After parading some days on the heights, near the town, and sending two flags to summon the inhabitants, he retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there waited the arrival of Montgomery, who joined him on the first of December. The city was immediately besieged, but the best measures had been taken for its defence. On the morning of the last day of the year, an assault was made on the one side of the city by Montgomery, who was killed. At the same time, colonel Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifty men, made a desperate attack on the opposite side. Advancing with the utmost intrepidity along the St. Charles, through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape shot and musketry, as he approached the first barrier he received a musket ball in the leg, which shattered the bone; and he was carried off to the camp. Though the attack was unsuccessful, the blockade of Quebec was continued till May, 1776, when the army, which was in no condition to risk an assault, was removed to a more defensible position. Arnold was compelled to relinquish one post after another, till the 18th of June, when he quitted Canada. After this period he exhibited great bravery in the command of the American fleet on lake Champlain.

In August, 1777, he relieved fort Schuyler, under the command of colonel Gansevoort, which was invested by colonel St. Leger, with an army of from fifteen to eighteen hundred men. In the battle, near Stillwater, September the nineteenth, he conducted himself with his usual intrepidity, being engaged, incessantly, for four hours. In the action of October the seventh, after the British had been driven into the lines, Arnold pressed forward, and under a tremendous fire, assaulted their works from right to left. The intrenchments were at length forced, and with a few men he actually en-

tered the works ; but his horse being killed, and he himself badly wounded in the leg, he found it necessary to withdraw, and as it was now almost dark, to desist from the attack.

Being rendered unfit for active service in consequence of his wound, after the recovery of Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command of the American garrison. When he entered the city, he made the house of governor Penn, the best house in the city, his head quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived far beyond his income. He had wasted the plunder, which he had seized at Montreal, in his retreat from Canada ; and at Philadelphia, he was determined to make new acquisitions. He laid his hands on every thing in the city, which could be considered as the property of those who were unfriendly to the cause of his country. He was charged with oppression, extortion, and enormous charges upon the public, in his accounts; and with applying the public money and property to his own private use. Such was his conduct, that he drew upon himself the odium of the inhabitants, not only of the city, but of the province in general. He was engaged in trading speculations, and had shares in several privateers, but was unsuccessful.

From the judgment of the commissioners, who had been appointed to inspect his accounts, and who had rejected above half the amount of his demands, he appealed to congress; and they appointed a committee of their own body to examine and settle the business. The committee confirmed the report of the commissioners, and thought they had allowed him more than he had any right to expect or demand. By these disappointments he became irritated, and he gave full scope to his resentment. His invectives against congress were not less violent, than those which he had before thrown out against the commissioners. He was, however,

soon obliged to abide the judgment of a court-martial, upon the charges exhibited against him by the executive of Pennsylvania; and he was subjected to the mortification of receiving a reprimand from Washington. His trial commenced in June, 1778, but such were the delays occasioned by the movements of the army, that it was not concluded until the 26th of January, 1779. The sentence of a reprimand was approved by congress, and was soon afterwards carried into execution.

Such was the humiliation, to which general Arnold was reduced, in consequence of yielding to the temptations of pride and vanity, and indulging himself in the pleasures of a sumptuous table and expensive equipage.

From this time, probably, his proud spirit revolted from the cause of America. He turned his eyes to West Point as an acquisition, which would give value to treason, while its loss would inflict a mortal wound on his former friends. He addressed himself to the delegation of New York, in which state his reputation was peculiarly high; and a member of congress from this state, recommended him to Washington for the service which he desired. But this request could not be immediately complied with. The same application to the commander in chief was made not long afterwards through general Schuyler. Washington observed, that, as there was a prospect of an active campaign, he should be gratified with the aid of general Arnold in the field, but intimated, at the same time, that he should receive the appointment requested, if it should be more pleasing to him.

Arnold, without discovering much solicitude, repaired to camp in the beginning of August, and renewed, in person, the solicitations, which had been before indirectly made. He was now offered the command of the left wing of the army, which was advancing against New York, but he declined it

under the pretext, that in consequence of his wounds, he was unable to perform the active duties of the field. Without a suspicion of his patriotism, he was invested with the command of West Point.—Previously to his soliciting this station, he had, in a letter to colonel Robinson, signified his change of principles, and his wish to restore himself to the favour of his prince, by some signal proof of his repentance. This letter opened to him a correspondence with sir Henry Clinton, the object of which was to concert the means of putting the important post, which he commanded, into the possession of the British general.

His plan, it is believed, was to have drawn the greater part of his army without the works, under the pretext of fighting the enemy in the defiles, and to have left unguarded a designated pass, through which the assailants might securely approach and surprise the fortress. His troops he intended to place, so that they would be compelled to surrender, or be cut in pieces. But just as his scheme was ripe for execution, the wise Disposer of events, who so often and so remarkably interposed in favour of the American cause, blasted his designs.

Major Andre, adjutant general of the British army, was selected as the person, to whom the maturing of Arnold's treason, and the arrangements for its execution should be committed. A correspondence was, for some time, carried on between them under a mercantile disguise, and the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson; and at length, to facilitate their communications, the Vulture sloop of war moved up the North river and took a station convenient for the purpose, but not so near as to excite suspicion. An interview was agreed on, and in the night of September the 21st, 1780, he was taken in a boat, which was dispatched for the purpose, and carried to the beach without the posts of both armies, under a pass for John Ander-

son. He met general Arnold at the house of a Mr. Smith. While the conference was yet unfinished, day light approached; and to avoid the danger of discovery, it was proposed, that he should remain concealed till the succeeding night. He is understood to have refused to be carried within the American posts, but the promise made him by Arnold, to respect this objection, was not observed. He was carried within them contrary to his wishes and against his knowledge. He continued with Arnold the succeeding day, and when, on the following night, he proposed to return to the Vulture, the boatmen refused to carry him, because she had, during the day, shifted her station, in consequence of a gun having been moved to the shore, and brought to bear upon her. This embarrassing circumstance reduced him to the necessity of endeavouring to reach New York by land. Yielding, with reluctance, to the urgent representations of Arnold, he laid aside his regimentals, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, and put on a plain suit of clothes; and, receiving a pass from the American general, authorising him, under the feigned name of John Anderson, to proceed on the public service, to the White Plains, or lower, if he thought proper, he set out on his return. He had passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was proceeding to New York in perfect security, when, on the 23d of September, one of the three militia-men, who were employed with others in scouting parties between the lines of the two armies, springing suddenly from his covert into the road, seized the reins of his bridle and stopped his horse. Instead of producing his pass, Andre, with a want of self-possession, which can be attributed only to a kind providence, asked the man hastily, where he belonged; and being answered, "to below," replied immediately, "and so do I." He then declared himself to be a British

officer, on urgent business, and begged that he might not be detained. The other two militia men coming up at this moment, he discovered his mistake; but it was too late to repair it. He offered a purse of gold and a valuable watch, to which he added the most tempting promises of ample reward and permanent provision from the government, if they would permit him to escape; but his offers were rejected without hesitation.

The militia men, whose names were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Vanwert, proceeded to search him. They found concealed in his boots, exact returns, in Arnold's hand writing, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point and its dependencies; critical remarks on the works, and an estimate of the men ordinarily employed in them, with other interesting papers. Andre was carried before lieutenant colonel Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties on the lines, and, regardless of himself, and only anxious for the safety of Arnold, he still maintained the character which he had assumed, and requested Jameson to inform his commanding officer that Anderson was taken. An express was accordingly dispatched, and the traitor, thus becoming acquainted with his danger, escaped.

Major Andre, after his detection, was permitted to send a message to Arnold, to give him notice of his danger; and the traitor found opportunity to escape on board the *Vulture*, on the 25th of September, 1780, a few hours before the return of Washington, who had been absent on a journey to Hartford, Connecticut. It is supposed, however, that he would not have escaped, had not an express to the commander in chief, with an account of the capture of Andre, missed him by taking a different road from the one which he travelled.

Arnold, on the very day of his escape, wrote a letter to Washington, declaring that the love of his

country had governed him in his late conduct, and requesting him to protect Mrs. Arnold. She was conveyed to her husband at New York, and his clothes and baggage, for which he had written, were transmitted to him. During the exertions which were made to rescue Andre from the destruction, which threatened him, Arnold had the hardihood to interpose. He appealed to the humanity of the commander in chief, and then sought to intimidate him by stating the situation of many of the principal characters of South Carolina, who had forfeited their lives, but had hitherto been spared through the clemency of the British general. This clemency, he said, could no longer, in justice, be extended to them, should major Andre suffer.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the British service; which rank he preserved throughout the war. Yet he must have been held in contempt and detestation by the generous and honourable. It was impossible for men of this description, even when acting with him, to forget that he was a traitor, first the slave of his rage, then purchased with gold, and finally secured by the blood of one of the most accomplished officers in the British army. One would suppose that his mind could not have been much at ease; but he had proceeded so far in vice, that perhaps his reflections gave him but little trouble. "I am mistaken," says Washington, in a private letter, "if, at this time, Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling. From some traits of his character, which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hacknied in crime, so lost to all sense of honour and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse."

Arnold found it necessary to make some exertions to secure the attachment of his new friends.

With the hope of alluring many of the discontented to his standard, he published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he endeavoured to justify his conduct. He had encountered the dangers of the field, he said, from apprehension that the rights of his country were in danger. He had acquiesced in the declaration of independence, though he thought it precipitate. But the rejection of the overtures, made by Great Britain in 1778, and the French alliance, had opened his eyes to the ambitious views of those, who would sacrifice the happiness of their country to their own aggrandizement, and had made him a confirmed loyalist. He artfully mingled assertions, that the principal members of congress held the people in sovereign contempt.

This was followed in about a fortnight by a proclamation, addressed "to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interest of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of congress or of France." To induce the American officers and soldiers to desert the cause, which they had embraced, he represented that the corps of cavalry and infantry, which he was authorized to raise, would be upon the same footing with the other troops in the British service; that he should with pleasure, advance those, whose valor he had witnessed; and that the private men, who joined him should receive a bounty of three guineas each, besides payment, at the full value, for horses, arms, and accoutrements. His object was the peace, liberty, and safety of America. "You are promised liberty," he exclaims, "but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it saving your oppressors? Who among you dare to speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny, which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your persons, drags you to the field of battle, and is daily delu-

ging your country with your blood? "What," he exclaims again, "is America now but a land of widows, orphans, and beggars? As to you, who have been soldiers in the continental army, can you at this day want evidence, that the funds of your country are exhausted, or that the managers have applied them to their private uses? In either case you surely can no longer continue in their service with honour or advantage. Yet you have hitherto been their supporters in that cruelty, which, with equal indifference to yours, as well as to the labour and blood of others, is devouring a country, that from the moment you quit their colours, will be re-deemed from their tyranny."

These proclamations did not produce the effect designed, and in all the hardships, sufferings, and irritations of the war, Arnold remains the solitary instance of an American officer, who abandoned the side first embraced in the contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms.

He was soon despatched by sir Henry Clinton, to make a diversion in Virginia. With about seventeen hundred men he arrived in the Chesapeake, in January, 1781, and being supported by such a naval force, as was suited to the nature of the service, he committed extensive ravages on the rivers and along the unprotected coasts. It is said, that while on this expedition, Arnold enquired of an American captain, whom he had taken prisoner, what the Americans would do with him if he should fall into their hands. The captain at first declined giving him an answer, but upon being repeatedly urged to it, he said, "Why, sir, if I must answer your question, you must excuse my telling you the plain truth: if my countrymen should catch you, I believe *they would first cut off that lame leg, which was wounded in the cause of freedom and virtue, and bury it with the honours of war, and afterwards hang the remainder of your*

"body in gibbets." The reader will recollect that the captain alluded to the wound Arnold received in one of his legs, at the attack upon Quebec, in 1776.

After his return from Virginia, he was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which was the town of New London, in his native county. The troops employed therein, were landed in two detachments, one on each side of the harbour. The one commanded by lieutenant colonel Eyre, and the other by Arnold. He took fort Trumbull without much opposition. Fort Griswold was furiously attacked by lieutenant colonel Eyre. The garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but after a severe conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the enemy. The Americans had not more than six or seven men killed, when the British carried the lines, but a severe execution took place afterwards, though resistance had ceased. An officer of the conquering troops enquired, on his entering the fort, who commanded. Colonel Ledyard, presenting his sword, answered, "I did, but you do now;" and was immediately run through the body and killed. Between 30 and 40 were wounded, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. On the part of the British 48 were killed, and 145 wounded. About 15 vessels loaded with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbour unhurt; but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and eighty-four stores were reduced to ashes. The loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions, and merchandize, was immense. General Arnold having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New York.

From the conclusion of the war till his death,

H

general Arnold resided chiefly in England. He died in Gloucester place, London, June 14, 1801. His character presents little to be commended.— His daring courage may indeed excite admiration; but it was a courage without reflection, and without principle. He fought bravely for his country, and he bled in her cause; but his country owed him no returns of gratitude, for his subsequent conduct proved, that he had no honest regard to her interests, but was governed by selfish considerations. His progress from self-indulgence to treason was easy and rapid. He was vain and luxurious, and to gratify his giddy desires, he must resort to meanness, dishonesty, and extortion. These vices brought with them disgrace; and the contempt into which he fell, awakened a spirit of revenge, and left him to the unrestrained influence of his cupidity and passion. Thus, from the high fame to which his bravery had elevated him, he descended into infamy. Thus too, he furnished new evidence of the infatuation of the human mind, in attaching such value to the reputation of a soldier, which may be obtained while the heart is unsound, and every moral sentiment is entirely depraved.

BARTLETT, JOSIAH, governor of New Hampshire, was born at Amesbury, in the county of Essex, Massachusetts, 21st November, 1729. His ancestors came from the south of England, and fixed at Newbury. The rudiments of his education he received at Amesbury, at the town school; and having a thirst for knowledge, he applied himself to books in various languages, in which he was assisted by a neighbouring clergyman, the reverend Mr. Webster, of Salisbury, an excellent scholar as well as judicious divine. Mr. Bartlett had the benefit of his library and conversation, while he studied physic with a gentleman, who was a practitioner in his native town. At the age of twenty-one, he began the practice of physic in

Kingston, and soon became very eminent in the line of his profession. In 1764, a field was opened for the useful display of his skill. The *cynanche maligna* became very prevalent in many towns of New Hampshire, and was a fatal disease among children. The method of treating it was as a highly phlogistic complaint; but he was led from his own reason and observations, to manage it differently. He made use of the *Peruvian bark*, as an antidote and preventative, and his practice was successful. This afterwards become general among physicians.

In 1765, Dr. Bartlett was chosen a member of the legislature, and from this time was annually elected till the revolution. He soon after was made a justice of the peace. In 1770, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 7th regiment of militia. These commissions he was deprived of in 1774, on account of the active part he took in the controversy with Great Britain. This was a time when "the clashing of parties excited strong passions, which frequently gained the mastery of reason." The governor and council of New Hampshire, saw fit to dissolve the house of assembly, supposing that a new one might become more flexible, or be more subservient to their wishes. In the meanwhile, colonel Bartlett, with several others, planned a kind of authority, which was called a committee of safety. They met at Exeter, and in the course of events, were obliged to take upon themselves the whole executive government of the state. When a provincial congress had again organized the government, colonel Bartlett received a new appointment as justice of the peace, and colonel of the 7th regiment.

He was one of the first members who were chosen to represent the state in congress. Colonel Bartlett was prevented from accepting this honourable trust by the unhappy condition of his do-

mestic affairs; his house having been burnt, his family were obliged to seek a shelter without any thing but the clothes they had upon them. He was elected member of the second congress which assembled at Philadelphia the next year, and also attended his duty in the same station, 1776. He was the first that signed the declaration of independence after the president.

In 1777, colonel Bartlett and general Peabody, were appointed agents to provide medical aid and other necessities for the New Hampshire troops, who went with general Stark, and for this purpose repaired to Bennington, a spot distinguished by a battle very important in its consequences. In April, 1778, he again went as a delegate to congress. He returned in November, and would no longer appear as a candidate for that office.

When the state of New Hampshire was organized, under a popular government, colonel Bartlett was appointed judge of the common pleas; in June, 1782, a judge of the supreme court; in 1788, chief justice.

In June, 1790, he was elected president of the state, which office he held till the constitution abrogated the office of president, and substituted the title of the chief magistrate, governor. He was then chosen the first governor of New Hampshire since the revolution. He resigned the chair in 1794, on account of his infirm state of health, and then retired from public business.

He had been the chief agent in forming the medical society of New Hampshire, which was incorporated in 1791, of which he was president, till his public labours ceased, and when he resigned, he received a warm acknowledgment of his services and patronage, in a letter of thanks, which is now upon the records of the society. He was always a patron of learning and a friend to learned men. Without the advantages of a college education, he

was an example to stimulate those who have been blessed with every advantage in early life; but cannot exhibit such improvement of their talents, or such exertions in the cause of literature. It was his opinion that republics cannot exist without knowledge and virtue in the people.

He received an honorary degree of doctor of medicine from Dartmouth University.

Governor Bartlett did not live long after he resigned his public employments. His health had been declining a number of years. He died suddenly, May, 1795.

BIDDLE, NICHOLAS, captain in the American navy, during the revolutionary war, was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750. Among the brave men, who perished in the glorious struggle for the independence of America, captain Biddle holds a distinguished rank. His services, and the high expectations raised by his military genius and gallantry, have left a strong impression of his merit, and a profound regret that his early fate should have disappointed, so soon, the hopes of his country.

Very early in life he manifested a partiality for the sea, and before the age of fourteen he had made a voyage to Quebec. In the following year, 1765, he sailed from Philadelphia to Jamaica, and the Bay of Honduras. The vessel left the Bay in the latter end of December, 1765, bound to Antigua, and on the second day of January, in a heavy gale of wind, she was cast away on a shoal, called the Northern Triangles. After remaining two nights and a day upon the wreck, the crew took to their yawl, the long-boat having been lost, and with great difficulty and hazard, landed on one of the small uninhabited islands, about three leagues distant from the reef, upon which they struck. Here they staid a few days. Some provisions were procured from the wreck, and their boat was refitted.

As it was too small to carry them all off, they drew lots to determine who should remain, and young Biddle was among the number. He, and his three companions, suffered extreme hardships for want of provisions and good water; and, although various efforts were made for their relief, it was nearly two months before they succeeded.

Such a scene of dangers and sufferings in the commencement of his career, would have discouraged a youth of ordinary enterprise and perseverance. On him it produced no such effect. The coolness and promptitude with which he acted, in the midst of perils that alarmed the oldest seamen, gave a sure presage of the force of his character, and after he had returned home, he made several European voyages, in which he acquired a thorough knowledge of seamanship.

In the year 1770, when a war between Great Britain and Spain was expected, in consequence of the dispute relative to Falkland's Island, he went to London, in order to enter into the British navy. He took with him letters of recommendation from Thomas Willing, Esquire, to his brother-in-law captain Sterling, on board of whose ship he served for some time as a midshipman. The dispute with Spain being accommodated, he intended to leave the navy, but was persuaded by captain Sterling to remain in the service, promising that he would use all his interest to get him promoted. His ardent mind, however, could not rest satisfied with the inactivity of his situation, which he was impatient to change for one more suited to his disposition.

In the year 1773, a voyage of discovery was undertaken, at the request of the Royal Society, in order to ascertain how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole; to advance the discovery of a north-west passage into the south seas, and to make such astronomical observations as might prove serviceable to navigation.

Two vessels, the *Race Horse* and *Carcase*, were fitted out for the expedition, the command of which was given to captain Phipps, afterwards lord Mulgrave. The peculiar dangers to which such an undertaking was exposed, induced the government to take extraordinary precautions in fitting out, and preparing the vessels, and selecting the crews, and a positive order was issued that no boys should be received on board.

To the bold and enterprising spirit of young Biddle, such an expedition had great attractions. Extremely anxious to join it, he endeavoured to procure captain Sterling's permission for that purpose, but he was unwilling to part with him, and would not consent to let him go. The temptation was, however, irresistible. He resolved to go, and laying aside his uniform, he entered on board the *Carcase* before the mast. When he first went on board, he was observed by a seaman who had known him before and was very much attached to him. The honest fellow, thinking that he must have been degraded and turned before the mast in disgrace, was greatly affected at seeing him, but he was equally surprised and pleased when he learned the true cause of the young officer's disguise, and he kept his secret as he was requested to do. Impelled by the same spirit, young Horatio, afterwards lord Nelson, had solicited and obtained permission to enter on board the same vessel. These youthful adventurers are both said to have been appointed cockswains, a station always assigned to the most active and trusty seamen. The particulars of this expedition are well known to the public. These intrepid navigators penetrated as far as the latitude of eighty-one degrees and thirty-nine minutes, and they were, at one time, enclosed with mountains of ice, and their vessels rendered almost immoveable for five days, at the hazard of instant destruction. Captain Biddle

kept a journal of his voyage, which was afterwards lost with him.

The commencement of the revolution gave a new turn to his pursuits, and he repaired without delay, to the standard of his country. When a rupture between England and America appeared inevitable, he returned to Philadelphia, and soon after his arrival, he was appointed to the command of the Camden galley, fitted for the defence of the Delaware. He found this too inactive a service, and when the fleet was preparing, under commodore Hopkins, for an expedition against New Providence, he applied for a command in the fleet, and was immediately appointed commander of the *Andrew Doria*, a brig of 14 guns and 130 men. Paul Jones who was then a lieutenant, and was going on the expedition, was distinguished by captain Biddle, and introduced to his friends as an officer of merit.

Before he sailed from the capes of Delaware, an incident occurred, which marked his personal intrepidity. Hearing that two deserters from his vessel were at Lewistown in prison, an officer was sent on shore for them, but he returned with information that the two men, with some others, had armed themselves, barricadoed the door, and swore they would not be taken: that the militia of the town had been sent for, but were afraid to open the door, the prisoners threatening to shoot the first man who entered. Captain Biddle immediately went to the prison, accompanied by a midshipman, and calling to one of the deserters whose name was Green, a stout, resolute fellow, ordered him to open the door; he replied that he would not, and if he attempted to enter, he would shoot him. He then ordered the door to be forced, and entering singly with a pistol in each hand, he called to Green, who was prepared to fire, and said, "Now Green, if you do not take good aim, you are a dead man."

Daunted by his manner, their resolution failed, and the militia coming in, secured them. They afterwards declared to the officer who furnishes this account, that it was captain Biddle's look and manner which had awed them into submission, for that they had determined to kill him as soon as he came into the room.

Writing from the capes to his brother, the late judge Biddle, he says, "I know not what may be our fate: be it, however, what it may, you may rest assured, I will never cause a blush in the cheeks of my friends or countrymen." Soon after they sailed, the small-pox broke out and raged with great violence in the fleet, which was manned chiefly by New England seamen. The humanity of captain Biddle, always prompt and active, was employed on this occasion to alleviate the general distress, by all the means in his power. His own crew, which was from Philadelphia, being secure against the distemper, he took on board great numbers of the sick from the other vessels. Every part of his vessel was crowded, the long-boat was fitted for their accommodation, and he gave up his own cot to a young midshipman, on whom he bestowed the greatest attention till his death. In the mean while he slept himself upon the lockers, refusing the repeated solicitations of his officers, to accept their births. On their arrival at New Providence, it surrendered without opposition. The crew of the Andrew Doria, from their crowded situation, became sick, and before she left Providence, there were not men enough capable of doing duty to man the boats; captain Biddle visited them every day, and ordered every necessary refreshment, but they continued sickly until they arrived at New London.

After refitting at New London, captain Biddle received orders to proceed off the banks of Newfoundland, in order to intercept the transports and

storeships bound to Boston. Before he reached the banks, he captured two ships from Scotland, with 400 highland troops on board, destined for Boston. At this time the *Andrew Doria* had not 100 men. Lieutenant Josiah, a brave and excellent officer, was put on board one of the prizes, with all the highland officers, and ordered to make the first port. Unfortunately, about ten days afterwards, he was taken by the *Corberus* frigate, and, on pretence of his being an Englishman, he was ordered to do duty, and extremely ill used.— Captain Biddle hearing of the ill treatment of lieutenant Josiah, wrote to the admiral at New York, that, however disagreeable it was to him, he would treat a young man of family, believed to be a son of lord Craston, who was then his prisoner, in the manner they treated lieutenant Josiah.

He also applied to his own government in behalf of this injured officer, and by the proceedings of congress, on the 7th of August, 1776, it appears, "that a letter from captain Nicholas Biddle to the marine committee, was laid before congress and read: whereupon, *Resolved*, That general Washington be directed to propose an exchange of lieutenant Josiah, for a lieutenant of the navy of Great Britain: that the general remonstrate to lord Howe on the cruel treatment lieutenant Josiah has met with, of which the congress have received undoubted information." Lieutenant Josiah was exchanged, after an imprisonment of ten months. After the capture of the ships with the highlanders, such was captain Biddle's activity and success in taking prizes, that when he arrived in the *Delaware*, he had but five of the crew with which he sailed from New London, the rest having been distributed among the captured vessels, and their places supplied by men who had entered from the prizes. He had a great number of prisoners, so that, for some days before he got in, he never left the deck.

While he was thus indefatigably engaged in weakening the enemy's power, and advancing his country's interest, he was disinterested and generous in all that related to his private advantage. The brave and worthy opponent, whom the chance of war had thrown in his power, found in him a patron and friend, who, on more than one occasion, was known to restore to the vanquished the fruits of victory.

In the latter end of the year 1776, captain Biddle was appointed to the command of the *Randolph*, a frigate of thirty-two guns. With his usual activity, he employed every exertion to get her ready for sea. The difficulty of procuring American seamen at that time, obliged him, in order to man his ship, to take a number of British seamen, who were prisoners of war, and who had requested leave to enter.

The *Randolph* sailed from Philadelphia, in February, 1777. Soon after she got to sea, her lower masts were discovered to be unsound, and, in a heavy gale of wind, all her masts went by the board. While they were bearing away for Charleston, the English sailors, with some others of the crew, formed a design to take the ship. When all was ready, they gave three cheers on the gun-deck. By the decided and resolute conduct of captain Biddle and his officers, the ringleaders were seized and punished, and the rest submitted without further resistance. After refitting at Charleston, as speedily as possible, he sailed on a cruise, and three days after he left the bar, he fell in with four sail of vessels, bound from Jamaica to London.—One of them called the *True Briton* mounted twenty guns. The commander of her, who had frequently expressed to his passengers, his hopes of falling in with the *Randolph*, as soon as he perceived her, made all the sail he could from her, but finding he could not escape, he hove too, and

kept up a constant fire, until the Randolph had bore down upon him, and was preparing for a broadside, when he hauled down his colours. By her superior sailing, the Randolph was enabled to capture the rest of the vessels, and in one week from the time he sailed from Charleston, captain Biddle returned there with his prizes, which proved to be very valuable.

Encouraged by his spirit and success, the state of South Carolina made exertions for fitting out an expedition under his command. His name, and the personal attachment to him, urged forward a crowd of volunteers to serve with him, and in a short time, the ship General Moultrie, the brigs Fair America, and Polly, and the Notre Dame, were prepared for sea. A detachment of fifty men from the first regiment of South Carolina Continental infantry, was ordered to act as marines on board the Randolph. Such was the attachment which the honourable and amiable deportment of captain Biddle had impressed during his stay at Charleston, and such the confidence inspired by his professional conduct and valour, that a general emulation pervaded the corps to have the honour of serving under his command. The tour of duty, after a generous competition among the officers, was decided to captain Joor, and lieutenants Grey and Simmons, whose gallant conduct, and that of their brave detachment, did justice to the high character of the regiment. As soon as the Randolph was refitted, and a new mainmast obtained in place of one which had been struck with lightning, she dropt down to Rebellion Roads with her little squadron. Their intention was to attack the Carysfort frigate, the Perseus twenty-four gun ship, the Hinchinbrook of sixteen guns, and a privateer which had been cruising off the Bar, and had much annoyed the trade. They were detained a considerable time in Rebellion Roads, after

BIDDLE.

they were ready to sail, by contrary winds and want of water, on the Bar, for the Randolph. As soon as they got over the Bar, they stood to the eastward, in expectation of falling in with the British cruizers. The next day they retook a dismasted ship from New England; as she had no cargo on board, they took out her crew, six light guns, and some stores, and set her on fire. Finding that the British ships had left the coast, they proceeded to the West Indies, and cruised to the eastward, and nearly in the latitude of Barbadoes, for some days, during which time they boarded a number of French and Dutch ships, and took an English schooner from New York, bound to Grenada, which had mistaken the Randolph for a British frigate, and was taken possession of before the mistake was discovered.

On the night of the 7th March, 1778, the fatal accident occurred, which terminated the life of this excellent officer. For some days previously, he had expected an attack. Captain Blake, a brave officer, who commanded a detachment of the second South Carolina regiment, serving as marines on board the general Moultrie, and to whom we are indebted for several of the ensuing particulars, dined on board the Randolph two days before the engagement. At dinner captain Biddle said, "We have been cruizing here for some time, and have spoken a number of vessels, who will no doubt give information of us, and I should not be surprised if my old ship should be out after us. As to any thing that carries her guns upon one deck, I think myself a match for her." About three P. M. of the 7th of March, a signal was made from the Randolph for a sail to windward, in consequence of which the squadron hauled upon a wind, in order to speak her. It was four o'clock before she could be distinctly seen, when she was discovered to be a ship, though as she neared and

came before the wind, she had the appearance of a large sloop with only a square sail set. About seven o'clock, the Randolph being to windward, hove to, the Moultrie being about one hundred and fifty yards astern, and rather to leeward, also hove to. About eight o'clock, the British ship fired a shot just ahead of the Moultrie, and hailed her, the answer was the Polly of New York, upon which she immediately hauled her wind and hailed the Randolph. She was then, for the first time, discovered to be a two decker. After several questions asked and answered, as she was ranging up along side the Randolph, and had got on her weather quarter, Lieutenant Barnes, of that ship, called out, "This is the Randolph," and she immediately hoisted her colours and gave the enemy a broadside. Shortly after the action commenced, captain Biddle received a wound in the thigh and fell. This occasioned some confusion, as it was at first thought that he was killed. He soon, however, ordered a chair to be brought, said that he was only slightly wounded, and being carried forward encouraged the crew. The stern of the enemy's ship being clear of the Randolph, the captain of the Moultrie gave orders to fire, but the enemy having shot ahead, so as to bring the Randolph between them, the last broadside of the Moultrie went into the Randolph, and it was thought by one of the men saved, who was stationed on the quarter-deck near captain Biddle, that he was wounded by a shot from the Moultrie. The fire from the Randolph was constant and well directed. She fired nearly three broadsides to the enemy's one, and she appeared, while the battle lasted, to be in a continual blaze. In about twenty minutes after the action began, and while the surgeon was examining captain Biddle's wound on the quarter deck, the Randolph blew up.

The enemy's vessel was the British ship Yar-

Previous to the revolution, Mr. Bryan was introduced into various public employments. He was a delegate to the congress of 1775, for the purpose of petitioning and remonstrating against the arbitrary measures of Great Britain. After the declaration of independence, he was vice president of the state of Pennsylvania, and upon the death of president Wharton, in May, 1778, he was placed at the head of the government.

In 1777, Mr. Bryan was elected a member of the legislature, of which he was one of the most intelligent, active and efficient. Here, amidst the tumult of war and invasion; surrounded with the tory and disaffected, when every one was trembling for himself, his mind was occupied by the claims of humanity and charity. He, at this time, planned and completed an act for the gradual abolition of slavery, and which will remain an imperishable monument to his memory. These were the days "*that tried men's souls;*" and it was in those days that the patriotism, wisdom and firmness, of Mr. Bryan were conspicuously efficient and useful. He furnished evidence, that in opposing the exactions of foreign power, he was opposing tyranny, and was really attached to the cause of liberty. After this period, Mr. Bryan was a judge of the Supreme Court, in which station he continued until his death. In 1784, he was elected one of the council of censors, and was one of its most active members.

Besides the offices already mentioned, judge Bryan filled a number of public, titulary, and charitable employments. Formed for a close application to study, animated with an ardent thirst for knowledge, and blessed with a memory of wonderful tenacity, and a clear, penetrating, and decisive judgment, he availed himself of the labours and acquisitions of others, and brought honour to the stations which he occupied. To his other at-

tainments, he added the virtues of the christian. He was distinguished by his benevolence and sympathy with the distressed; by an unaffected humility and modesty; by his readiness to forgive injuries, and by his inflexible integrity. He was superior to the powers and blandishments of the world. Thus eminently qualified for the various public offices in which he was placed, he was humble and faithful in discharging their duties, and he filled them with dignity and reputation in the worst of times, and in the midst of a torrent of unmerited obloquy, abuse, and opposition. When, on a certain occasion, some of his intimate friends desired him to permit them to answer a particular charge made against him, he replied, "*no my friends, such things rankle not in my breast—my character must stand on my general conduct.*" Such was his disinterestedness, and his zeal for the public cause, and for the good of others, that his own interest seemed to have been wholly overlooked. In the administration of justice he was impartial and incorruptible. He was an ornament to the profession of christianity, which he made the delight of his connexions, and a public blessing to the state. By his death, religion lost an amiable example, and science a steady friend.

CADWALADER, JOHN, born in Philadelphia, was distinguished for his zealous and inflexible adherence to the cause of America, and for his intrepidity as a soldier, in upholding that cause during the most discouraging periods of danger and misfortune. At the dawn of the revolution, he commanded a corps of volunteers, designated as "*the silk stocking company;*" of which nearly all the members were appointed to commissions in the line of the army. He afterwards was appointed colonel of one of the city battalions; and, being thence promoted to the rank of brigadier general, was intrusted with the command of the Pennsyl-

vania troops, in the important operations of the winter campaign of 1776 and 1777. He acted with his command, and as a volunteer, in the actions of Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, and other occasions; and received the thanks of general Washington, whose confidence and regard he uniformly enjoyed.

When general Washington determined to attack the British and Hessian troops at Trenton, he assigned him the command of a division. In the evening of Christmas day, 1776, general Washington made arrangements to pass the river Delaware, in three divisions: one consisting of 500 men, under general Cadwalader, from the vicinity of Bristol; a second division, under the command of general Irvine, was to cross at Trenton ferry, and secure the bridge leading to the town. Generals Cadwalader and Irvine made every exertion to get over, but the quantity of ice was so great, that they could not effect their purpose.— The third, and main body, which was commanded by general Washington, crossed at M'Konkey's ferry; but the ice in the river retarded their passage so long, that it was three o'clock in the morning, before the artillery could be got over. On their landing in Jersey, they were formed into two divisions, commanded by generals Sullivan and Greene, who had under their command brigadiers lord Stirling, Mercer, and St. Clair: one of these divisions was ordered to proceed on the lower, or river road, the other on the upper or Pennington road: Colonel Stark, with some light troops, was also directed to advance near to the river, and to possess himself of that part of the town, which is beyond the bridge. The divisions having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered immediately on forcing the out-guards, to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. Though they march-

ed different roads, yet they arrived at the enemy's advanced post, within three minutes of each other. The out-guards of the Hessian troops at Trenton soon fell back, but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already got possession of half their artillery, attempted to file off by a road leading towards Princeton, but were checked by a body of troops thrown in their way. Finding they were surrounded, they laid down their arms. The number which submitted, was 23 officers, and 886 men. Between 30 and 40 of the Hessians were killed and wounded. Colonel Rahl, was among the former, and seven of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six of the Americans were wounded. Two were killed, and two or three were frozen to death.—The detachment in Trenton, consisted of the regiments of Rahl, Losberg, and Kniphausen, amounting in the whole to about 1500 men, and a troop of British light horse. All these were killed or captured, except about 600, who escaped by the road leading to Bordentown.

The British had a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington, therefore, in the evening of the same day, thought it most prudent to recross into Pennsylvania, with his prisoners.

The next day after Washington's return, supposing him still on the Jersey side, general Cadwalader crossed with about 1500 men, and pursued the panic struck enemy to Burlington.

The merits and services of general Cadwalader, induced the congress, early in 1778, to compliment him by an unanimous vote, with the appointment of general of cavalry; which appointment he declined, under an impression that he could be more useful to his country, in the sphere in which he been acting.

The victory at Trenton had a most happy effect, and General Washington, finding himself at the head of a force with which it was practicable to attempt something, resolved not to remain inactive. Inferior as he was to the enemy, he yet determined to employ the winter in endeavouring to recover the whole, or a great part of Jersey. The enemy were now collected in force at Princeton, under lord Cornwallis, where some works were thrown up. Generals Mifflin and Cadwalader, who lay at Bordentown and Crosswicks, with three thousand six hundred militia, were ordered to march up in the night of the first of January, 1777, to join the commander in chief, whose whole force, with this addition, did not exceed five thousand men. He formed the bold and judicious design of abandoning the Delaware, and marching silently in the night by a circuitous route, along the left flank of the enemy, into their rear at Princeton, where he knew they could not be very strong. He reached Princeton early in the morning of the third, and would have completely surprised the British, had not a party, which was on their way to Trenton, descried his troops, when they were about two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their fellow soldiers in the rear. A sharp action ensued, which however was not of long duration. The militia, of which the advanced party was principally composed, soon gave way. General Mercer was mortally wounded while exerting himself to rally his broken troops. The moment was critical. General Washington pushed forward, and placed himself between his own men and the British, with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example, made a stand, and returned the British fire. A party of the British fled into the college, and were attacked with field pieces. After receiving a few discharges they came out and surrendered themselves prisoners.

of war. In this action upwards of one hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, and three hundred taken prisoners. The Americans lost only a few, but colonels Haslet and Potter, two brave and valuable officers, from Delaware and Pennsylvania, were among the slain.

General Cadwalader's celebrated duel with general Conway, arose from his spirited opposition to the intrigues of that officer, to undermine the standing of the commander in chief. The anecdote relative to the duel, in "Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War," by Alexander Garden, of Charleston, South Carolina, is not entirely correct.

It will be recollected that general Conway was dangerously wounded, and while his recovery was doubtful, he addressed a letter to general Washington acknowledging that he had done him injustice.

Among many obituary notices of General Cadwalader, this patriotic and exemplary man, the following outline of his character, in the form of a monumental inscription, is selected from a Baltimore paper of the 24th of February, 1786 :

In memory of

General John Cadwalader,

Who died, February the 10th, 1786,

At Shrewsbury, his seat in Kent County,

In the 44th year of his age.

This amiable and worthy Gentleman,

Had served his Country

With reputation,

In the character of a

Soldier and Statesman :

He took an active part, and had a principal

Share, in the late Revolution,

And, although he was zealous in the cause
of American Freedom,

His conduct was not mark'd with the
Least degree of malevolence, or party spirit.

Those who honestly differed from him

In opinion,
 He always treated with singular tenderness,
 In sociability, and cheerfulness of temper,
 Honesty and goodness of heart,
 Independence of spirit, and warmth of
 Friendship,

* He had no superior,
 And few, very few equals:
 Never did any man die more lamented
 By his Friends, and Neighbours;
 To his family, and near relations,
 His death was a stroke still more severe.

CLINTON, JAMES, was the fourth son of colonel Charles Clinton, and was born on Thursday the 19th of August, 1736, at the house of his father, in Ulster county, in the colony of New York. In common with his brothers, he was favoured with an excellent education. The study of the exact sciences was his favourite pursuit; but the predominant inclination of his mind was to a military life.

In the critical and eventful affairs of nations, when their rights and their interests are invaded, and when the most daring attempts are made to reduce them to domestic tyranny or foreign subjugation, Providence, in the plenitude of its beneficence, has generally provided men qualified to lead the van of successful resistance, and has infused a redeeming spirit into the community which enabled it to rise superior to the calamities that menaced its liberty and its prosperity. The characters designed for these important ends, are statesmen and soldiers. The first devise plans in the cabinet, and the second execute them in the field. At the commencement of the American revolution, and during its progress to a glorious consummation, constellations of illustrious men appeared in the councils and the armies of the nation, illuminating by their wisdom and upholding

by their energy: drawing forth the resources and vindicating the rights of America. In defiance of the most appalling considerations, liberty or death was inscribed on the heart of every patriot; and, drawing the sword, he consecrated it to the cause of Heaven and his country, and determined to die or to conquer.

Amidst the gallant soldiers, whose services were demanded by the emergencies of the American revolution, James Clinton, the subject of this memoir, was always conspicuous. To an iron constitution and invincible courage, he added the military experience which he acquired in the war of 1756, where he established his character as an intrepid and skilful officer; and the military knowledge which he obtained after the peace of 1763, by a close attention to the studies connected with his favourite profession.

On the 31st of January, 1756, he was appointed by governor sir Charles Hardy, an ensign in the second regiment of militia for the county of Ulster; on the 25th March, 1758, by lieutenant governor Delancey, a lieutenant of a company in the pay of the province of New York; on the 7th March, 1759, by the same lieutenant governor, a captain of a company of provincial troops; and in the three following years he was successively re-appointed to the same station. On the 15th November, 1763, he was appointed by lieutenant governor Colden, captain commandant of the four companies in the pay of the province of New York, raised for the defence of the western frontiers of the counties of Ulster and Orange, and captain of one of the said companies; and on the 18th March, 1774, lieutenant colonel of the second regiment of militia, in Ulster county. This detail is entered into not from a spirit of ostentation, but to show that he rose gradually and from step to step in his profession; not by intrigue, for he had none; nor by the influ-

ence of his family, for they were generally in opposition to the administration; but by the force of merit, developing itself in the progress of time, and by the entire confidence justly reposed in his integrity, courage, and skill.

In the war of 1756, commonly denominated the French war, he encountered, with cheerfulness, the fatigues and dangers of a military life. He was a captain under colonel Bradstreet, at the capture of fort Frontenac, and he rendered essential service in that expedition in many respects, and particularly by the capture of a sloop of war on lake Ontario, which impeded the progress of the army. His company was placed in row-galleys, and, favoured by a calm, compelled the French vessel to strike after an obstinate resistance. His designation as captain commandant of the four companies, raised for the protection of the western frontiers of the counties of Orange and Ulster, was a post of great responsibility and hazard, and demonstrated the confidence of the government. The safety of a line of settlements, extending at least fifty miles, was intrusted to his vigilance and intrepidity. The ascendancy of the French, over the ruthless savages, was always predominant, and the inhabitant of the frontiers was compelled to hold the plough with one hand, for his sustenance, and to grasp his gun with the other for his defence; and he was constantly in danger of being awakened, in the hour of darkness, by the war-whoop of the savages; to witness the conflagration of his dwelling and the murder of his family.

After the termination of the French war, Mr. Clinton married Mary De Witt, a young lady of extraordinary merit, whose ancestors emigrated from Holland, and whose name proclaims their respectability; and he retired from the camp to enjoy the repose of domestic life.

When the American Revolution was on the eve

K

of its commencement, he was appointed on the 30th June, 1775, by the continental congress, colonel of the 3d regiment of New-York forces. On the 25th of October following, he was appointed by the provincial congress of New York, colonel of the regiment of foot in Ulster county; on the 8th of March, 1776, by the continental Congress, colonel of the second battalion of New York troops; and on the 9th of August, 1776, a Brigadier General in the army of the United States; in which station he continued during the greater part of the war, having the command of the New York line, or the troops of that state; and at its close he was constituted a Major General.

In 1775, his regiment composed part of the army under General Montgomery, which invaded Canada; and he participated in all the fatigues, dangers and privations, of that celebrated but unfortunate expedition.

In October, 1777, he commanded at fort Clinton, which, together with its neighbour fort Montgomery, constituted the defence of the Hudson river, against the ascent of an enemy. His brother, the governor, commanded in chief at both forts. Sir Henry Clinton, with a view to create a diversion in favour of general Burgoyne, moved up the Hudson with an army of 4000 men, and attacked those works, which were very imperfectly fortified, and only defended by 500 men, composed principally of militia. After a most gallant resistance, the forts were carried by storm. General Clinton was the last man who left the works, and not until he was severely wounded by the thrust of a bayonet; pursued and fired at by the enemy, and his attending servant killed. He bled profusely, and when he dismounted from his war horse, in order to effect his escape from the enemy, who were close on him, it occurred to him that he must either perish on the mountains or be captured, un-

less he could supply himself with another horse; an animal which sometimes roamed at large in that wild region. In this emergency he took the bridle from his horse and slid down a precipice of one hundred feet to the ravine of the creek which separated the forts, and feeling cautiously his way along its precipitous banks, he reached the mountain at a distance from the enemy, after having fallen into the stream, the cold water of which arrested a copious effusion of blood. The return of light furnished him with the sight of a horse, which conveyed him to his house, about sixteen miles from the fort, where he arrived about noon, covered with blood and labouring under a severe fever. In his helpless condition the British passed up the Hudson, within a few miles of his house, and destroyed the town of Kingston.

The cruel ravages and horrible irruptions of the Iroquois, or six nations of Indians, on our frontier settlements, rendered it necessary to inflict a terrible chastisement, which would prevent a repetition of their atrocities. An expedition was accordingly planned, and the principal command was committed to general Sullivan, who was to proceed up the Susquehanna, with the main body of the army, while general Clinton was to join him by the way of the Mohawk.

The Iroquois inhabited, or occasionally occupied, that immense and fertile region which composes the western parts of New York and Pennsylvania, and besides their own ravages, from the vicinity of their settlements to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroads of the more remote Indians. When general Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by general Clinton with upwards of sixteen hundred men. The latter had gone up the Mohawk in batteaux, from Schenectady, and after ascending that river about fifty-four miles, he con-

veyed his batteaux from Canajoharie to the head of Otsego lake, one of the sources of the Susquehanna. Finding the stream of water, in that river, too low to float his boats, he erected a dam across the mouth of the lake, which soon rose to the altitude of the dam. Having got his batteaux ready, he opened a passage through the dam for the water to flow. This raised the river so high, that he was enabled to embark all his troops: to float them down to Tioga, and to join general Sullivan in good season. The Indians collected their strength at Newtown; took possession of proper ground and fortified it with judgment, and on the 29th August, 1779, an attack was made on them; their works were forced, and their consternation was so great, that they abandoned all further resistance; for, as the Americans advanced into their settlements, they retreated before them without throwing any obstructions in their way. The army passed between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes, by Geneva and Canandaigua, and as far west as the Genessee river, destroying large settlements and villages, and fields of corn; orchards of fruit trees, and gardens abounding with esculent vegetables. The progress of the Indians in agriculture, struck the Americans with astonishment. Many of their ears of corn measured 22 inches in length. They had horses, cows, and hogs, in abundance. They manufactured salt and sugar, and raised the best of apples and peaches, and their dwellings were large and commodious. The desolation of their settlements, the destruction of their provisions, and the conflagration of their houses, drove them to the British fortress of Niagara for subsistence, where, living on salt provisions, to which they were unaccustomed, they died in great numbers, and the effect of this expedition, was to diminish their population; to damp their ardour; to check their arrogance; to restrain their cruelty, and

to inflict an irrecoverable blow on their resources of extensive aggression.

For a considerable portion of the war, general Clinton was stationed at Albany, where he commanded, in the northern department of the union, a place of high responsibility and requiring uncommon vigilance and continual exertion. An incident occurred, when on this command, which strongly illustrates his character. A regiment, which had been ordered to march, mutinied under arms, and peremptorily refused obedience. The general, on being apprised of this, immediately repaired with his pistols to the ground: he went up to the head of the regiment and ordered it to march: a silence ensued and the order was not complied with. He then presented a pistol to the breast of a sergeant, who was the ringleader, and commanded him to proceed on pain of death; and so on in succession along the line, and his command was, in every instance, obeyed, and the regiment restored to entire and complete subordination and submission.

General Clinton was at the siege of Yorktown and the capture of Cornwallis, where he distinguished himself by his usual intrepidity.

His last appearance, in arms, was on the evacuation of the city of New York, by the British. He then bid the commander in chief a final and affectionate adieu, and retired to his ample estates, where he enjoyed that repose which was required by a long period of fatigue and privation.

He was, however, frequently called from his retirement by the unsolicited voice of his fellow-citizens, to perform civic duties. He was appointed a commissioner to adjust the boundary line between Pennsylvania and New York, which important measure was amicably and successfully accomplished. He was also selected by the legislature for an interesting mission to settle controversies

about lands in the west, which also terminated favourably. He represented his native county in the assembly and in the convention that adopted the present constitution of the United States, and he was elected, without opposition, a senator from the middle district; all which trusts he executed with perfect integrity, with solid intelligence, and with the full approbation of his constituents.

The temper of general Clinton was mild and affectionate, but when raised by unprovoked or unmerited injury, he exhibited extraordinary and appalling energy. In battle he was as cool and as collected as if sitting by his fireside. Nature intended him for a gallant and efficient soldier, when she endowed him with the faculty of entire self-possession in the midst of the greatest dangers.

He died on the 22d of December, 1812, and was interred in the family burial place in Orange county, and his monumental stone bears the following inscription:

"Underneath are interred the remains of James Clinton, Esquire.

"He was born the 9th of August, 1736; and died the 22d of December, 1812.

"His life was principally devoted to the military service of his country, and he had filled with fidelity and honour, several distinguished civil offices.

"He was an officer in the revolutionary war, and the war preceding; and, at the close of the former, was a major general in the army of the United States. He was a good man and a sincere patriot, performing, in the most exemplary manner, all the duties of life: and he died, as he lived, without fear, and without reproach."

CLINTON, GEORGE, formerly governor of the state of New York, and vice-president of the United States, was born on the 26th July, 1739, in the county of Ulster, in the colony of New York. He was the youngest son of colonel Charles Clin-

ton, an emigrant from Ireland, and a gentleman of distinguished worth and high consideration.

He was educated, principally, under the eye of his father, and received the instruction of a learned minister of the presbyterian church, who had graduated in the university of Aberdeen: and, after reading law, in the office of William Smith, afterwards chief justice of Canada, he settled himself in that profession in the county of his nativity, where he rose to eminence.

In 1768, he took his seat as one of the members of the colonial assembly, for the county of Ulster, and he continued an active member of that body until it was merged in the revolution. His energy of character, discriminating intellect, and undaunted courage, placed him among the chiefs of the whig party; and he was always considered possessed of a superior mind and master spirit, on which his country might rely, as an asylum in the most gloomy periods of her fortunes.

On the 22d of April, 1775, he was chosen by the provincial convention of New York, one of the delegates to the continental congress, and took his seat in that illustrious body on the 15th of May. On the 4th of July, 1776, he was present at the glorious declaration of independence, and assented, with his usual energy and decision, to that measure; but having been appointed a brigadier general in the militia, and also in the army, the exigencies of his country, at that trying hour, rendered it necessary for him to take the field in person. and he therefore retired from congress immediately after his vote was given, and before the instrument was transcribed for the signature of the members; for which reason his name does not appear among the signers.

A constitution having been adopted for the state of New York, on the 20th April, 1777, he was chosen at the first election under it, both governor and

lieutenant governor, and he was continued in the former office for eighteen years, by triennial elections; when, owing to ill health, and a respect for the republican principle of rotation in office, he declined a re-election.

During the revolutionary war, he cordially co-operated with the immortal Washington, and without his aid, the army would have been disbanded, and the northern separated from the southern states, by the intervention of British troops. He was always at his post in the times that tried men's souls: at one period repelling the advances of the enemy from Canada, and at another, meeting them in battle when approaching from the south. His gallant defence of fort Montgomery, with a handful of men, against a powerful force commanded by sir Henry Clinton, was equally honourable to his intrepidity and his skill.

The following are the particulars of his gallant conduct at the storming of forts Montgomery and Clinton, in October, 1777:

“When the British reinforcements, under general Robertson, amounting to nearly 2000 men, arrived from Europe, sir Henry Clinton used the greatest exertion, and availed himself of every favourable circumstance, to put these troops into immediate operation. Many were sent to suitable vessels, and united in the expedition, which consisted of about 4000 men, against the forts in the highlands. Having made the necessary arrangements, he moved up the North River, and landed on the 4th of October at Tarry-town, purposely to impress general Putnam, under whose command a thousand continental troops had been left, with a belief, that his post at Peek's-kill was the object of attack. At eight o'clock at night, the general communicated the intelligence to governor Clinton, of the arrival of the British, and at the same time expressed his opinion respecting their destina-

tion. The designs of sir Henry were immediately perceived by the governor, who prorogued the assembly on the following day, and arrived that night at Fort Montgomery. The British troops, in the mean time, were secretly conveyed across the river, and assaults upon our forts were meditated to be made on the 6th, which were accordingly put in execution, by attacking the American advanced party at Doodletown, about two miles and a half from fort Montgomery. The Americans received the fire of the British, and retreated to fort Clinton. The enemy then advanced to the west side of the mountain, in order to attack our troops in the rear. Governor Clinton immediately ordered out a detachment of one hundred men toward Doodletown, and another of sixty, with a brass field piece, to an eligible spot on another road. They were both soon attacked by the whole force of the enemy, and compelled to fall back. It has been remarked, that the talents, as well as the temper of a commander, are put to as severe a test in conducting a retreat, as in achieving a victory. The truth of this governor Clinton experienced, when, with great bravery, and the most perfect order, he retired till he reached the fort. He lost no time in placing his men in the best manner that circumstances would permit. His post, however, as well as fort Clinton, in a few minutes, were invaded on every side. In the midst of this disheartening and appalling disaster, he was summoned, when the sun was only an hour high, to surrender in five minutes; but his gallant spirit sternly refused to obey the call. In a short time after, the British made a general and most desperate attack on both posts, which was received by the Americans with undismayed courage and resistance. Officers and men, militia and continentals, all behaved alike brave. An incessant fire was kept up till dusk, when our troops were overpow-

ered by numbers, who forced the lines and redoubts at both posts. Many of the Americans fought their way out, others accidentally mixed with the enemy, and thus made their escape effectually; for, besides being favoured by the night, they knew the various avenues in the mountains. The governor, as well as his brother, general James Clinton, who was wounded, were not taken."

The administration of governor Clinton, was characterised by wisdom and patriotism. He was a republican in principle and practice. After a retirement of five years, he was called by the citizens of the city and county of New York to represent them in the assembly of the state; and to his influence and popularity may be ascribed, in a great degree, the change in his native state, which finally produced the important political revolution of 1801.

At that period, much against his inclination, but from motives of patriotism, he consented to an election as governor, and in 1805, he was chosen Vice President of the United States, in which office he continued until his death; presiding with great dignity in the Senate, and evincing by his votes and his opinions, his decided hostility to constructive authority, and to innovations on the established principles of republican government.

He died at Washington, when attending to his duties as Vice President, and was interred in that city, where a monument was erected by the filial piety of his children, with this inscription, written by his nephew:

"To the memory of George Clinton. He was born in the state of New York on the 26th of July, 1739, and died in the city of Washington, on the 20th April, 1812, in the 73d year of his age. He was a soldier and statesman of the revolution. Eminent in council, and distinguished in war, he filled, with unexampled usefulness, purity and

ability, among many other offices, those of governor of his native state, and of vice-president of the United States. While he lived, his virtue, wisdom and valour, were the pride, the ornament, and security of his country; and when he died, he left an illustrious example of a well spent life, worthy of all imitation."

There are few men who will occupy as renowned a place in the history of his country as George Clinton; and the progress of time will increase the public veneration, and thicken the laurels that cover his monument.

CLINTON, CHARLES, the father of James and George Clinton, was distinguished in the colony of New York, as a gentleman of pure morals, strong and cultivated intellect, great respectability, and extensive influence. His grand father, William Clinton, was an adherent of Charles the first, in the civil wars of England, and an officer in his army; and after the dethronement of that monarch, took refuge on the continent of Europe, where he remained a long time in exile. He afterwards went secretly to Scotland, where he married and then passed over, for greater security, to the north of Ireland, where he died deprived of his patrimony, and leaving James, an orphan son, two years old. When James arrived to manhood, he went to England to recover his patrimonial estate, but being barred by the limitation of an act of parliament, he returned to Ireland, and finally settled in the county of Longford, having married, on his visit to the country of his ancestors, miss Elizabeth Smith, the daughter of a captain in Cromwell's army; by which connexion, he was enabled to maintain, at that time, a respectable standing in the country of his adoption.

Charles Clinton, the subject of this memoir, was the son of James Clinton, and was born in the county of Longford, in Ireland, in 1690. In 1729,

he came to a determination to emigrate to British America, and having persuaded a number of his relations and friends to co-operate with him, he chartered a ship for the purpose of conveying his little colony to Philadelphia. By the terms of the Charter Party, the passengers were to be liberally supplied with provisions and other accommodations, and the vessel was to be navigated by honest and skilful hands. On the 20th of May, 1729, the ship left Ireland. Besides his wife, he had two daughters and one son with him. After being at sea for some time, it was discovered that the commander of the vessel was a ruffian, and had probably formed a deliberate design of starving the passengers to death, either with a view to acquire their property or to deter emigration. He actually killed a man, and continued so long at sea, that the passengers were reduced to an allowance of half a biscuit and half a pint of water a day. In consequence of which many of them died, and Mr. Clinton lost a son and daughter. In this awful situation, the remedy of seizing the captain and committing the navigation of the vessel to Mr. Clinton, who was an excellent mathematician, occurred to the passengers; but they were prevented by the fear of incurring the guilt of piracy, especially as they could not obtain the co-operation or assistance of the officers of the ship. They were finally compelled to give the captain a large sum of money, as a commutation for their lives, and on the 4th of October, he landed them at Cape Cod. After leaving the ship, she was driven from her moorings in a stormy night and lost. Mr. Clinton and his friends continued in that part of the country until the spring of 1731; when he removed to the county of Ulster, in the colony of New York, where he formed a flourishing settlement. This misconduct of the commander of the vessel, diverted him from his original design of settling in Penn-

sylvania. The country which he selected was wild and uncultivated; covered with forests, supplied with streams, diversified with hills and valleys, and abundant in the products of cultivation; but so exposed (although only eight miles from the Hudson river and sixty from the city of New York) to the incursions of the savages, that Mr. Clinton considered it necessary to erect a palisade work round his house for the security of himself and his neighbours.

In this sequestered retreat he devoted himself to the cultivation of a large farm, and he occasionally acted as a surveyor of land; a profession, which at that time and since, has been followed by the most respectable men of this country. His leisure moments were devoted to study and writing. Possessed of a well selected library, and endowed with extraordinary talents, he made continual accessions to his stores of useful knowledge.

Merit so distinguished, and respectability so undoubted, attracted the favourable notice of the government and the community. He was soon appointed a justice of the peace, and a judge of the county of Ulster. In 1756, he was appointed by the governor, sir Charles Hardy, lieutenant colonel of the second regiment of militia foot, for the county of Ulster. On the 24th March, 1758, he was appointed by lieutenant governor Delancey, a lieutenant colonel of one of the battalions of the regiment, in the province of New York, whereof Oliver Delancey was colonel; in which capacity he engaged in actual service, and acted under the command of colonel Bradstreet, at the siege and capture of fort Frontenac, (now Kingston,) on the north side of lake Ontario. In 1753, George Clinton, the father of sir Henry Clinton, was installed as governor of the colony. An intimacy took place between him and Mr. Clinton, in consequence of which, and their distant consanguinity,

the latter was earnestly solicited by his nameake, to accept of a lucrative and distinguished office; but preferring the charms of retirement, and the cultivation of literature, to the cares of public life, he declined every overture of the kind. His son George, who was named after the colonial governor, was honoured by his early attentions, and received from his friendship, the valuable office of clerk of the county. Mr. Clinton was also on terms of intimacy with several of the colonial chief magistrates, and the leading men of the province; and he is respectfully noticed by Smith, the historian of New York, for his ingenuity and knowledge. Besides the daughter born in Ireland, Mr. Clinton had four sons in this country. Alexander, educated in the college at Princeton, and afterwards a physician; Charles, also an eminent physician and a surgeon in the army which took Havanna, in the Island of Cuba; James, a major general in the revolutionary army, and George, Governor of the state of New York, and Vice President of the United States. He was peculiarly happy and fortunate in his children. Having devoted particular attention to their education, he had the satisfaction of seeing them possessed of the regard of their country, and worthy of the veneration of posterity.

He died at his place, in Ulster, now Orange county, on the 19th day of November, 1773, in his 83d year, just in time to escape, at that advanced age, the cares and perplexities of the revolution; but foreseeing its approach, he expired breathing an ardent spirit of patriotism, and conjuring his sons, in his last moments, to stand by the liberties of America.

Mr. Clinton possessed an uncommon genius; a penetrating understanding; a solid judgment, and an extensive fund of useful and ornamental knowledge, with the affability and manners of an accomplished gentleman. His person was tall, erect

and graceful, and his appearance impressive and dignified. If he happened to be in the company of young people, their first impressions would be those of awe and reverence, but in the course of a few minutes, he would enter into the most pleasing and instructive conversation, which would soon restore their composure, and never failed of inspiring the most grateful attachment and the most respectful confidence. He was a dutiful son; an affectionate husband; a kind father; a good neighbour; a disinterested patriot, and a sincere Christian. He sometimes retired from the cares of business and the severe studies of the exact sciences, and took refuge in music and poetry, and courted the communion of Apollo and the muses.

The following lines, written by him on the grave of a beloved and elder sister, were casually preserved, and will show the kind affections which animated his bosom, and which attended him in all the relations and charities of life.

Oh! canst thou know, thou dear departed shade!
 The mighty sorrows that my soul invade,
 Whilst o'er thy mould'ring frame I mourning stand
 And view thy grave far from thy native land.
 With thee my tender years were early train'd,
 Oft have thy friendly arms my weight sustain'd,
 And when with childish freaks or pains oppress'd,
 You, with soft music, lull'd my soul to rest.

DAVIDSON, WILLIAM, lieutenant colonel commandant in the North Carolina line, and brigadier general in the militia of that state, was the youngest son of George Davidson, who removed with his family, from Lancaster county, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1750, to Rowan county, in North Carolina.

William was born in the year 1746, and was educated in a plain country manner, at an academy in Charlotte, the county town of Mecklenburg, which adjoins Rowan.

Like most of the enterprising youth of America, Davidson repaired to the standard of his country, on the commencement of the revolutionary war, and was appointed a major in one of the first regiments formed by the government of North Carolina.

In this character, he marched with the North Carolina line, under brigadier general Nash, to the main army in New Jersey, where he served under the commander in chief, until the North Carolina line was detached in November, 1779, to reinforce the southern army, commanded by major general Lincoln. Previous to this event, major Davidson was promoted to the command of a regiment, with the rank of lieutenant colonel commandant.

As he passed through North Carolina, Davidson obtained permission to visit his family, from which he had been absent nearly three years.—The delay produced by this visit saved him from captivity, as he found Charleston so closely invested when he arrived in its neighbourhood, as to prevent his rejunction with his regiment.

Soon after the surrender of general Lincoln and his army, the loyalists of North Carolina, not doubting the complete success of the royal forces, began to embody themselves for the purpose of contributing their active aid in the field to the subsequent operations of the British general.—They were numerous in the western parts of the state, and especially in the highland settlement about Cross creek. Lieutenant colonel Davidson put himself at the head of some of our militia, called out to quell the expected insurrection. He proceeded with vigour in the execution of his trust; and in an engagement with a party of loyalists near Calson's mill, he was severely wounded; the ball entered the umbilical region, and passed through his body near the kidneys. This confined him for eight weeks; when recovering, he in-

stantly took the field, having been recently appointed brigadier general by the government of North Carolina, in the place of brigadier general Rutherford, taken at the battle of Camden. He exerted himself, in conjunction with general Sumner and colonel Davie, to interrupt the progress of lord Cornwallis in his advance towards Salisbury, and throughout that eventful period, gave unceasing evidences of his zeal and firmness in upholding his falling country.

After the victory obtained by Morgan at the Cowpens, Davidson was among the most active of his countrymen in assembling the militia of his district, to enable general Greene, who had joined the light corps under Morgan, to stop the progress of the advancing enemy, and was detached by general Greene, on the night of the last day of January, to guard the very ford selected by lord Cornwallis for his passage of the Catawba river on the next morning. Davidson possessed himself of the post in the night, at the head of three hundred men; and having placed a picquet near the shore, stationed his corps at some small distance from the ford.

General Henry Lee, from whose "memoirs of the war in the Southern department of the United States, we copy the present sketch of General Davidson, gives the following account of the battle :

"A disposition was immediately made to dislodge Davidson, which the British general O'Hara, with the guards effected. Lieutenant colonel Hall, led with the light company, followed by the grenadiers. The current was rapid, the stream waist deep, and five hundred yards in width. The soldiers crossed in platoons, supporting each others steps. When lieutenant colonel Hall reached the river, he was descried by the American sentinels, whose challenge and fire brought Davidson's corps into array. Deserted by his guide, Hall passed

directly across, not knowing the landing place, which lay below him. This deviation from the common course, rendered it necessary for Davidson to incline to the right; but this manœuvre, although promptly performed, was not effected until the light infantry had gained the shore. A fierce conflict ensued, which was well supported by Davidson and his inferior force. The militia at length yielded, and Davidson, while mounting his horse to direct the retreat, was killed. The corps dispersed and sought safety in the woods. Our loss was small, excepting general Davidson, an active, zealous and influential officer. The British lieutenant colonel Hall was also killed, with three of the light infantry, and thirty-six were wounded. Lord Cornwallis's horse was shot under him, and fell as soon as he got upon the shore. Leslee's horses were carried down the stream, and with difficulty saved; and O'Hara's tumbled over with him in the water."

The loss of brigadier general Davidson would have always been felt in any stage of the war. It was particularly detrimental in its effect at this period, as he was the chief instrument relied upon by general Greene for the assemblage of the militia; an event all important at this crisis, and anxiously desired by the American general. The ball passed through his breast, and he instantly fell dead.

This promising soldier was thus lost to his country in the meridian of life, and at a moment when his services would have been highly beneficial to her. He was a man of popular manners, pleasing address, active and indefatigable. Enamoured with the profession of arms, and devoted to the great cause for which he fought, his future usefulness may be inferred from his former conduct.

The congress of the United States, in gratitude for his services, and in commemoration of their

sense of his worth, passed the following resolution directing the erection of a monument to his memory.

Resolved, That the governor and council of the state of North Carolina, be desired to erect a monument, at the expense of the United States, not exceeding the value of five hundred dollars, to the memory of the late brigadier general Davidson, who commanded the militia of the district of Salisbury, in the state of North Carolina, and was killed on the first day of February last, fighting gallantly in the defence of the liberty and independence of these states.

DICKINSON, JOHN, a distinguished political writer and friend of his country, was the son of Samuel Dickinson, esquire, of Delaware. He was a member of the assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1764, and of the general congress in 1765. In November, 1767, he began to publish his celebrated letters against the acts of the British parliament, laying duties on paper, glass, &c. They supported the liberties of his country, and contributed much to the American revolution. He was a member of the first congress in 1774, and the petition to the king, which was adopted at this time, and is considered as an elegant composition, was written by him.

He was the author of the declaration adopted by the Congress of 1775, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms; which declaration was directed to be published by general Washington, upon his arrival at the camp before Boston, in July 1775. He also wrote the second petition to the king, adopted by the same congress, stating the merits of their claims and soliciting the royal interposition for an accommodation of differences on just principles. These several addresses were executed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to make friends to the co-

lonies. But their petition to the king, which was drawn up at the same time, produced more solid advantages in favour of the American cause, than any other of their productions. This was, in a great measure, carried through congress by Mr. Dickinson. Several members, judging from the violence with which parliament proceeded against the colonies, were of opinion, that farther petitions were nugatory; but this worthy citizen, a friend to both countries, and devoted to a reconciliation on constitutional principles, urged the expediency and policy of trying, once more, the effect of an humble, decent, and firm petition, to the common head of the empire. The high opinion that was conceived of his patriotism and abilities, induced the members to assent to the measure, though they generally conceived it to be labour lost.

In June, 1776, he opposed openly, and upon principle, the declaration of independence, when the motion was considered by Congress. His arguments were answered by John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and others, who advocated a separation from Great Britain. The part which Mr. Dickinson took in this debate, occasioned his recal from congress, as his constituents did not coincide with him in political views, and he was absent several years. Perceiving, at length, that his countrymen were unalterably fixed in their system of independence, he fell in with it, and was as zealous in supporting it in congress, about the year 1780, as any of the members. He was president of Pennsylvania from November, 1782, to October, 1785, and was succeeded in this office by Dr. Franklin. Soon after 1785, it is believed, he removed to Delaware, by which state he was appointed a member of the old congress, and of which state he was president.

He filled with ability the various high stations in which he was placed. He was distinguished by

his strength of mind, miscellaneous knowledge, and cultivated taste, which were united with a habitual eloquence ; with an elegance of manners, and a benignity which made him the delight as well as the ornament of society. The infirmities of declining years had detached him long before his death, from the busy scenes of life ; but in retirement his patriotism felt no abatement. The welfare of his country was ever dear to him, and he was ready to make any sacrifices for its promotion. Unequivocal in his attachment to a republican government, he invariably supported, as far as his voice could have influence, those men and those measures, which he believed most friendly to republican principles. He was esteemed for his uprightness, and the purity of his morals. From a letter which he wrote to James Warren, Esquire, dated the 25th of the first month, 1805, it would seem that he was a member of the society of friends. He published a speech delivered in the house of Assembly of Pennsylvania, 1764; a reply to a speech of Joseph Galloway, 1765; late regulations respecting the colonies considered, 1765; letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British colonies, 1767—1768.

The following is an extract from an address of Congress, to the several states, dated May 26, 1779, which was also from the pen of Mr. Dickinson:

“ Infatuated as your enemies have been from the beginning of this contest, do you imagine they can now flatter themselves with a hope of conquering you, unless you are false to yourselves ?

“ When unprepared, undisciplined, and unsupported, you opposed their fleets and armies in full conjoined force, then, if at any time, was conquest to be apprehended. Yet, what progress towards it have their violent and incessant efforts made ? Judge from their own conduct. Having devoted

you to bondage, and after vainly wasting their blood and treasure in the dishonourable enterprise, they deigned at length to offer terms of accommodation, with respectful addresses, to that once despised body, the congress, whose humble supplications only for peace, liberty and safety, they had contemptuously rejected, under pretence of its being an unconstitutional assembly. Nay more, desirous of seducing you into a deviation from the paths of rectitude, from which they had so far and so rashly wandered, they made most specious offer to tempt you into a violation of your faith given to your illustrious ally. Their arts were as unavailing as their arms. Foiled again, and stung with rage, imbibed by envy, they had no alternative, but to renounce the inglorious and ruinous controversy, or to resume their former modes of prosecuting it. They chose the latter. Again the savages are stimulated to horrid massacres of women and children, and domestics to the murder of their masters. Again our brave and unhappy brethren are doomed to miserable deaths, in goals and prisonships. To complete the sanguinary system, all the "EXTREMITIES of war" are by authority denounced against you.

"Piously endeavour to derive this consolation from their remorseless fury, that "the Father of Mercies" looks down with disapprobation on such audacious defiance of his holy laws; and be further comforted with recollecting, that the arms assumed by you in your righteous cause have not been sullied by any unjustifiable severities.

"Your enemies despairing, however, as it seems, of the success of their united forces against our main army, have divided them, as if their design was to harass you by predatory, desultory operations. If you are assiduous in improving opportunities, *Saratoga* may not be the only spot on this continent to give a new denomination to the baffled

troops of a nation, impiously priding herself in notions of her omnipotence.

“Rouse yourselves, therefore, that this campaign may finish the great work you have so nobly carried on for several years past. What nation ever engaged in such a contest, under such a complication of disadvantages, so soon surmounted many of them, and in so short a period of time had so certain a prospect of a speedy and happy conclusion. We will venture to pronounce, that so remarkable an instance exists not in the annals of mankind. We well remember what you said at the commencement of this war. You saw the immense difference between your circumstances, and those of your enemies, and you knew the quarrel must decide on no less than your lives, liberties, and estates. All these you greatly put to every hazard, resolving rather to die freemen than to live slaves ; and justice will oblige the impartial world to confess you have uniformly acted on the same generous principle. Consider how much you have done, and how comparatively little remains to be done to crown you with success. Persevere ; and you insure peace, freedom, safety, glory, sovereignty, and felicity to yourselves, your children, and your children’s children.

“Encouraged by favours already received from Infinite Goodness, gratefully acknowledging them, earnestly imploring their continuance, constantly endeavouring to draw them down on your heads by an amendment of your lives, and a conformity to the Divine will, humbly confiding in the protection so often and wonderfully experienced, vigorously employ the means placed by Providence in your hands, for completing your labours.

“Fill up your battalions ; be prepared in every part to repel the incursions of your enemies ; place your several quotas in the continental treasury ; lend money for public uses ; sink the emissions of

your respective states; provide effectually for expediting the conveyance of supplies for your armies and fleets, and for your allies; prevent the produce of the country from being monopolized; effectually superintend the behaviour of public officers; diligently promote piety, virtue, brotherly love, learning, frugality and moderation; and may you be approved before Almighty God, worthy of those blessings we devoutly wish you to enjoy."

Mr. Dickinson's political writings were collected and published in two volumes 8vo. 1801.—He died at Wilmington, in the state of Delaware, February 15, 1808, at an advanced age.

DRAYTON, WILLIAM HENRY, an ardent patriot, and a political writer of considerable eminence, was a native of South Carolina. He was one of his majesty's justices in that province, when they made their last circuit in the spring of 1775, and the only one born in America. In his charges to the grand jury he inculcated the same sentiments in favour of liberty, which were patronized by the popular leaders. Soon afterwards he was elected president of the provincial congress, and devoted his great abilities with uncommon zeal for the support of the measures adopted by his native country. In 1774, he wrote a pamphlet, addressed to the American congress, under the signature of a 'Freeman,' in which he stated the grievances of America, and drew up a bill of American rights. He published his charge to the grand jury, in April 1776, which breathes all the spirit and energy of the mind, which knows the value of freedom, and is determined to support it.

The following is an extract from the charge :

"In short, I think it my duty to declare in the awful seat of justice, and before Almighty God, that in my opinion, the Americans can have no safety but by the Divine favour, their own virtue, and their being so prudent as *not to leave it in the*

the power of the British rulers to injure them. Indeed, the ruinous and deadly injuries received on our side; and the jealousies entertained, and which, in the nature of things, must daily increase against us, on the other; demonstrate to a mind, in the least given to reflection upon the rise and fall of empires, that true reconciliation never can exist between Great Britain and America, the latter being in subjection to the former. The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain: Let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments in the Almighty hand, now extended to accomplish his purpose; and by the completion of which alone, America, in the nature of human affairs, can be secure against the craft and insidious designs of *her enemies who think her prosperity and power* ALREADY BY FAR TOO GREAT. In a word, our piety and political safety are so blended, that to refuse our labours in this Divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people!

“And now having left the important alternative, political happiness or wretchedness, under God, in a great degree in your own hands, I pray the Supreme Arbiter of the affairs of men, so to direct your judgment, as that you may act agreeable to what seems to be his will, revealed in his miraculous works in behalf of America, bleeding at the altar of liberty.”

His letters published expressly to controvert the machinations of the British commissioners, holding out the fallacious hope of conciliation, have been considered as replete with irresistible arguments, and written in the best style of composition. His strictures also on the conduct of general C. Lee, disobeying orders at the battle of Monmouth, have been highly approved of. His speech in the general assembly of South Carolina, on the articles of the confederation, was published in 1778. Several

other productions of his pen appeared, explaining the injured rights of his country, and encouraging his fellow-citizens to vindicate them. He also wrote a history of the American revolution, brought down to the year 1779, in three large volumes, which he intended to correct and publish, but was prevented by his death.

He died in Philadelphia, in 1779, while attending his duty in congress, in the 37th year of his age.

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN, a philosopher and statesman, was a native of Boston, Massachusetts, and was born on the 17th of January, 1706. The paternal branch of his ancestors inhabited the county of Northampton, in England. They were proprietors of a small freehold estate near the village of Eaton, where the family had been established, according to the traditions of that place, for more than three centuries. They pursued generally some trade, especially that of blacksmith, and were very honourably distinguished in their neighbourhood, for industry, honesty, and mechanical ingenuity. His father, who was of the persuasion of the Puritans, emigrated in 1682, to the colony of Massachusetts, the common refuge of those of his sect, who fled from the persecutions of their native country; but unaccustomed to agriculture or commerce, the usual occupations of the colonists, and no trade, in the simple manner of those days conferring dishonour on its professors, he had recourse for a livelihood, without any previous apprenticeship, to that of chandler and soap-boiler, which, during the remainder of his life, he pursued with little success, and lived in an innocent and unambitious poverty. His father was the youngest of four sons, all mechanics, except the eldest, Thomas, who, although bred a smith, qualified himself for the bar, and was conspicuous in his county as 'the chief mover

of all public-spirited enterprises.' The character of this uncle, as our philosopher portrays it in the first pages of his memoirs, and in one of his letters to his wife, has strong points of resemblance to his own; we may, indeed, distinguish certain leading dispositions, and properties of intellect by which he was marked, more or less vigorous, in all the members of his family of whom he has given any account. He constantly attended public worship, and brought up his children in the ways of piety. His mother was a native of Boston, and was descended from one of the principal settlers of New England. We shall here give a sketch of the memoirs of his life and writings, written by himself. He says, "To be acquainted with the particulars of my parentage and life, will afford some pleasure. It will be an agreeable employment of a week's uninterrupted leisure, which I promise myself during my present retirement in the country. "There are also other motives which induce me to the undertaking. From the bosom of poverty and obscurity, in which I drew my first breath, and spent my earliest years, I have raised myself to a state of opulence, and to some degree of celebrity in the world. A constant good fortune has attended me through every period of my life, to my present advanced age; and my descendants may be desirous of learning what where the means of which I made use, and which, thanks to the assisting hand of Providence, have proved so eminently successful.

And here let me with all humility acknowledge, that to Divine Providence I am indebted for the felicity I have hitherto enjoyed. It is that power alone which has furnished me with the means I have employed, and that has crowned them with success. My faith in this respect leads me to hope, though I cannot count upon it, that the divine goodness will still be exercised towards me,

either by prolonging the duration of my happiness to the close of life, or by giving me fortitude to support any melancholy reverse, which may happen to me as to so many others. My future fortune is unknown but to Him in whose hand is our destiny, and who can make our very afflictions subservient to our benefit.

I was sent, at the age of eight years, to a grammar school. My father destined me for the church, and already regarded me as the chaplain of the family. The promptitude with which, from my infancy, I had learned to read, for I do not remember to have been ever without this acquirement, and the encouragement of his friends, who assured him that I should one day certainly become a man of letters, confirmed him in this design. My uncle Benjamin approved also of the scheme, and promised to give me all his volumes of sermons, written, as I have said, in the shorthand of his invention, if I would take the pains to learn it.

I remained, however, scarcely a year at grammar school, although, in this short interval, I had risen from the middle to the head of my class, from thence to the class immediately above, and was to pass, at the end of the year, to the one next in order. But my father, burthened with a numerous family, found that he was incapable, without subjecting himself to difficulties, of providing for the expense of a collegiate education; and considering, besides, as I heard him say to his friends, that persons so educated were often poorly provided for, he renounced his first intentions, took me from the grammar school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a Mr. George Brownwell, who was a skilful master, and succeeded very well in his profession by employing gentle means only, and such as were calculated to encourage his scholars. Under him I soon acquir-

ed an excellent hand, but I failed in arithmetic, and made therein no great progress.

At ten years of age I was called home, to assist my father in his occupation, which was that of a soap-boiler and tallow chandler, a business to which he had served no apprenticeship, but which he embraced on his arrival in New England, because he found his own, that of a dyer, in too little request to enable him to maintain his family. I was, accordingly, employed in cutting the wicks, filling the moulds, taking care of the shop, carrying messages, &c.

This business displeased me, and I felt a strong inclination for a sea life; but my father set his face against it. The vicinity of the water, however, gave me frequent opportunities of venturing myself both upon and within it, and I soon acquired the art of swimming, and of managing a boat. When embarked with other children, the helm was commonly deputed to me, particularly on difficult occasions; and, in every other project, I was always the leader of the troop, whom I sometimes involved in embarrassments. I shall give an instance of this, which demonstrates an early disposition of mind for public enterprises, though the one in question was not conducted by justice.

The mill-pond was terminated on one side by a marsh, upon the borders of which we were accustomed to take our stand, at high water, to angle for small fish. By dint of walking, we had converted the place into a perfect quagmire. My proposal was to erect a wharf that should afford us a firm footing, and I pointed to my companions a large heap of stones, intended for building a new house near the marsh, and which were well adapted for our purpose. Accordingly, when the workmen retired in the evening, I assembled a number of my play-fellows, and by labouring diligently, like ants, sometimes four of us uniting our strength

to carry a single stone, we removed them all, and constructed our little quay. The workmen were surprised the next morning at not finding their stones, which had been conveyed to our wharf. Enquiries were made respecting the authors of this conveyance; we were discovered, complaints were exhibited against us, many of us underwent correction on the part of our parents, and though I strenuously defended the utility of the work, my father at length convinced me, that nothing which was not strictly honest, could be useful.

I continued employed in my father's trade for the space of two years; that is to say, till I arrived at twelve years of age. About this time my brother John, who had served his apprenticeship in London, having quitted my father, and being married and settled in business on his own account, at Rhode Island, I was destined, to all appearance, to supply his place, and be a candle-maker all my life; but my dislike of this occupation continuing, my father was apprehensive, that, if a more agreeable one were not offered me, I might play the truant and escape to sea; as, to his great mortification, my brother Josias had done. He therefore took me sometimes to see masons, coopers, braziers, joiners and other mechanics, employed at their work, in order to discover the bent of my inclination, and fix it, if he could, upon some occupation that might retain me on shore. I have since, in consequence of these visits, derived no small pleasure, from seeing skilful workmen handle their tools; and it has proved of considerable benefit, to have acquired thereby sufficient knowledge to be able to make little things for myself, when I have had no mechanic at hand, and to construct small machines for my experiments, while the idea I have conceived has been fresh and strongly impressed on my imagination.

My father at length decided that I should be a

catler, and I was placed, for some days, upon trial with my cousin Samuel, son of my uncle Benjamin, who had learned this trade in London, and had established himself at Boston. But the premium he required for my apprenticeship displeasing my father, I was recalled home.

From my earliest years I had been passionately fond of reading; and laid out in books all the money I could procure. I was particularly pleased with accounts of voyages. My first acquisition was Bunyan's collection in small separate volumes.

These I afterwards sold in order to buy an historical collection which consisted of small cheap volumes, amounting in all to about forty or fifty. My father's little library was principally made up of books of practical and polemical theology. I read the greatest part of them. I have since often regretted, that at that time when I had so great a thirst for knowledge, more eligible books had not fallen into my hands; as it was then a point decided, that I should not be educated for the church. There was among my father's books Plutarch's Lives, in which I read continually, and I still regard as advantageously employed the time I devoted to them. I found, besides, a work of De Foe's, entitled, an Essay on Projects, from which, perhaps, I derived impressions that have since influenced some of the principal events of my life.

My inclination for books at last determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already a son in that profession. My brother had returned from England in 1717, with a press and types, in order to establish a printing-house at Boston. This business pleased me much better than that of my father, though I had still a predilection for the sea. To prevent the effects which might result from this inclination, my father was impatient to see me engaged with my brother. I held back for some time; at length, however, I suffered myself

to be persuaded, and signed my indentures, being then only twelve years of age. It was agreed that I should serve as apprentice to the age of twenty-one, and should receive journeyman's wages only during the last year.

In a very short time I made great proficiency in this business, and became very serviceable to my brother. I had now an opportunity of procuring better books. The acquaintance I necessarily formed with booksellers' apprentices, enabled me to borrow a volume now and then, which I never failed to return punctually and without injury. How often has it happened to me to pass the greater part of the night in reading by my bed-side, when the book had been lent me in the evening, and was to be returned the next morning; lest it might be missed or wanted!

At length, Matthew Adams, an ingenious tradesman, who had a handsome collection of books, and who frequented our printing-house, took notice of me. He invited me to see his library, and had the goodness to lend me any books I was desirous of reading. I then took a strange fancy for poetry, and composed several little pieces. My brother, thinking he might find his account in it, encouraged me, and engaged me to write two ballads. One, called the Lighthouse Tragedy, containing the shipwreck of captain Worthlake and his two daughters; the other, was a sailor's song on the capture of the noted pirate called Black-Beard. They were wretched verses in point of style, mere blind-man's ditties. When printed, he despatched me about the town to sell them. The first had a prodigious run, because the event was recent and had made a great noise.

My vanity was flattered by this success: but my father checked my exultation, by ridiculing my productions, and telling me that versifiers were always poor. I thus escaped the misfortune of being,

probably, a very wretched poet. But as the faculty of writing prose has been of great service to me in the course of my life, and principally contributed to my advancement, I shall relate by what means, situated as I was, I acquired the small skill I may possess in that way.

There was in the town another young man, a great lover of books, of the name of John Collins, with whom I was intimately connected. We frequently engaged in dispute, and were indeed so fond of argumentation, that nothing was so agreeable to us as a war of words. This contentious temper, I would observe, by the bye, is in danger of becoming a very bad habit, and frequently renders a man's company insupportable, as being no otherwise capable of indulgence than by indiscriminate contradiction. Independently of the acrimony and discord it introduces into conversation, it is often productive of dislike, and even hatred, between persons to whom friendship is indispensably necessary. I acquired it by reading, while I lived with my father, in books of religious controversy. I have since remarked, that men of sense and good education, seldom fall into this error.

Collins and I, one day, in an argument relative to the education of women, namely, whether it were proper to instruct them in the sciences, and whether they were competent to the study? Collins, supported the negative, and affirmed that the task was beyond their capacity, I maintained the opposite opinion, a little perhaps for the pleasure of disputing. He was, naturally, more eloquent than I; words flowed copiously from his lips; and frequently I thought myself vanquished, more by his volubility than by the force of his arguments. We separated without coming to an agreement upon this point; and as we were not to see each other again for some time, I committed my thoughts to paper, made a fair copy, and sent it to him. He an-

swered, and I replied. Three or four letters had been written by each, when my father chanced to light upon my papers and read them. Without entering into the merits of the cause, he embraced the opportunity of speaking to me upon my manner of writing. He observed, that though I had the advantage of my adversary in correct spelling and pointing, which I owed to my occupation, I was greatly his inferior in elegance of expression, in arrangement, and perspicuity. Of this he convinced me by several examples. I felt the justice of his remarks, became more attentive to language, and resolved to make every effort to improve my style. Amidst these resolves an odd volume of the Spectator fell into my hands. This was a publication I had never seen. I bought the volume, and read it again and again. I was enchanted with it, thought the style excellent, and wished it were in my power to imitate it. With this view I selected some of the papers, made short summaries of the sense of each period, and put them for a few days aside. I then, without looking at the book, endeavoured to restore the essays to their true form, and to express each thought at length, as it was in the original, employing the most appropriate words that occurred to my mind. I afterwards compared my Spectator with the original; I perceived some faults, which I corrected; but I found that I wanted a fund of words, if I may so express myself, and a facility of recollecting and employing them, which I thought I should by that time have acquired, had I continued to make verses. The continual need of words of the same meaning, but of different lengths, for the measure, or of different sounds for the rhyme, would have obliged me to seek for a variety of synonymes, and have rendered me master of them. From this belief, I took some of the tales of the Spectator, and turned them into verse; and after a time, when I had sufficiently forgotten them, I again converted them into prose.

Sometimes, also, I mingled all my summaries together, and a few weeks after, endeavoured to arrange them in the best order, before I attempted to form the periods, and complete the essays. This I did with a view of acquiring method in the arrangement of my thoughts. On comparing, afterwards, my performance with the original, many faults were apparent, which I corrected; but I had sometimes the satisfaction to think, that, in certain particulars of little importance, I had been fortunate enough to improve the order of thought, or the style; and this encouraged me in hope that I should succeed, in time, in writing decently in the English language, which was one of the great objects of my ambition.

The time which I devoted to these exercises, and to reading, was the evening after my day's labour was finished, the morning, before it began, and Sundays, when I could escape attending Divine service. While I lived with my father, he had insisted on my punctual attendance on public worship, and I still consider it as a duty.

When about 16 years of age, a work of Tryon fell into my hands, in which he recommends vegetable diet. I determined to observe it. My brother, being a bachelor, did not keep house, but boarded with his apprentices in a neighbouring family. My refusing to eat animal food was found inconvenient, and I was often scolded for my singularity. I attended to the mode in which Tryon prepared some of his dishes, particularly how to boil potatoes and rice, and make hasty puddings. I then said to my brother, that if he would allow me per week half what he paid for my board, I would undertake to maintain myself. The offer was instantly embraced, and I soon found that of what he gave me I was able to save half. This was a new fund for the purchase of books, and other advantages resulted to me from the plan. When my brother

and his workmen left the printing-house to go to dinner, I remained behind, and dispatched my frugal meal, which frequently consisted of a biscuit only, or a slice of bread and a bunch of raisins, or a bun from the pastry cook's, with a glass of water; I had the rest of the time, till their return, for study, and my progress therein was proportioned to that clearness of ideas, and quickness of conception, which are the fruit of temperance in eating and drinking.

It was about this period that, having one day been put to the blush for my ignorance in the art of calculation, which I had twice failed to learn while at school, I took up Cocker's Treatise of Arithmetic, and went through it by myself with the greatest ease; I also read a book of navigation, by Seller and Sturmy, and made myself master of the little geometry it contains; but I never proceeded far in this science. Nearly at the same time, I read Locke on the Human understanding, and the Art of Thinking, by Messrs. du Port-Royal.

While labouring to form and improve my style, I met with an English Grammar, which I believe was Greenwood's, having at the end of it two little essays on rhetoric and logic. In the latter I found a model of disputation after the manner of Socrates. Shortly after I procured Xenophon's work, entitled, Memorable Things of Socrates, in which are various examples of the same method. Charmed to a degree of enthusiasm with this mode of disputing, I adopted it, and renouncing blunt contradiction, and direct and positive argument, I assumed the character of an humble questioner. I found Socrates's method to be both the safest for myself, as well as the most embarrassing to those against whom I employed it. It soon afforded me singular pleasure: I incessantly practiced it, and became very adroit in obtaining, even from persons of superior understanding, concessions of

which they did not foresee the consequences.— Thus I involved them in difficulties from which they were unable to extricate themselves, and sometimes obtained victories, which neither my cause nor my arguments merited.

This method I continued to employ for some years; but I afterwards abandoned it by degrees, retaining only the habit of expressing myself with modest diffidence, and never making use, when I advanced any proposition which might be controverted, of the words certainly, undoubtedly, or any others that might give the appearance of being obstinately attached to my opinion. I rather said, I imagine, I suppose, or it appears to me that such a thing is so or so, for such and such reasons; or, it is so, if I am not mistaken. This habit has, I think, been of considerable advantage to me, when I have had occasion to impress my opinion on the minds of others, and persuade them to the opinion of the measures I have suggested.

In 1720, or 1721, my brother began to print a new public paper. It was the second that made its appearance in America, and was entitled 'The New-England Courant.' The only one that existed before was the 'Boston News-Letter.' Some of his friends, I remember, would have dissuaded him from this undertaking, as a thing that was not likely to succeed; a single newspaper being, in their opinion, sufficient for all America. At present, however, in 1777, there are no less than twenty-five. But he carried his project into execution, and I was employed in distributing the copies to his customers, after having assisted in composing and working them off.

Among his friends he had a number of literary characters, who, as an amusement, wrote short essays for the paper, which gave it reputation and increased its sale. These gentlemen came frequently to our house. I heard the conversation that

passed, and the accounts they gave of the favourable reception of their writings with the public. I was tempted to try my hand among them; but, being still a child as it were, I was fearful that my brother might be unwilling to print in his paper any performance of which he should know me to be the author, I therefore contrived to disguise my hand, and having written an anonymous piece, I placed it, at night, under the door of the printing house, where it was found the next morning. My brother communicated it to his friends, when they came as usual to see him, who read it, commented upon it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure to find that it met with approbation, and, that, in the various conjectures they made respecting the author, no one was mentioned who did not enjoy a high reputation in the country, for talents and genius. I now supposed myself fortunate in my judges, and began to suspect that they were not such excellent writers as I had hitherto supposed them. Be that as it may, encouraged by this little adventure, I wrote and sent to the press, in the same way, many other pieces, which were equally approved; keeping the secret till my slender stock of information and knowledge for such performances was completely exhausted, when I made myself known.

My brother, upon this discovery, began to entertain a little more respect for me; but he still regarded himself as my master, and treated me like an apprentice. He thought himself entitled to the same services from me as from any other person. On the contrary, I conceived that in many instances, he was too rigorous, and that, on the part of a brother, I had a right to expect greater indulgence. Our disputes were frequently brought before my father, and either my brother was generally in the wrong, or I was the better pleader of the two, for judgment was commonly given in my favour. But

my brother was passionate, and often had recourse to blows; a circumstance which I took in very ill part. This severe and tyrannical treatment contributed, I believe, to imprint on my mind that aversion to arbitrary power, which during my whole life I have ever preserved. My apprenticeship became insupportable to me, and I continually sighed for an opportunity of shortening it, which at length unexpectedly offered.

An article inserted in our paper, upon some political subject, which I have now forgotten, gave offence to the assembly. My brother was taken into custody; censured, and ordered into confinement for a month, because, as I presume, he would not discover the author. I was also taken up, and examined before the council; but, though I gave them no satisfaction, they contented themselves with reprimanding, and then dismissed me; considering me, probably, as bound, in quality of apprentice, to keep my master's secrets.

The imprisonment of my brother kindled my resentment, notwithstanding our private quarrels. During its continuance, the management of the paper was entrusted to me, and I was bold enough to insert some pasquinades against the governors, which highly pleased my brother, while others began to look upon me in an unfavourable point of view, considering me as a young wit, inclined to satire and lampoon.

My brother's enlargement was accompanied with an arbitrary order from the house of assembly, "That James Franklin should no longer print the newspaper entitled, the New England Courant." In this conjuncture, we held a consultation of our friends at the printing-house, in order to determine what was proper to be done. Some proposed to evade the order, by changing the title of the paper; but my brother foreseeing inconveniences that would result from this step, thought it better that

it should in future be printed in the name of Benjamin Franklin; and to avoid the censure of the assembly, who might charge him with still printing the paper himself, under the name of his apprentice, it was resolved that my old indentures should be given up to me, with a full and entire discharge written on the back, in order to be produced upon an emergency; but that, to secure to my brother the benefit of my service, I should sign a new contract, which should be kept secret during the remainder of the term. This was a very shallow arrangement. It was, however, carried into immediate execution, and the paper continued, in consequence, to make its appearance for some months in my name. At length a new difference arising between my brother and me, I ventured to take advantage of my liberty, presuming that he would not dare to produce the new contract. It was undoubtedly dishonourable to avail myself of this circumstance, and I reckon this action as one of the first errors of my life; but I was little capable of estimating it at its true value, embittered as my mind had been, by the recollection of the blows I had received. Exclusively of his passionate treatment of me, my brother was by no means a man of an ill temper, and perhaps my manners had too much of impertinence not to afford it a very natural pretext.

When he knew that it was my determination to quit him, he wished to prevent my finding employment elsewhere. He went to all the printing-houses in the town, and prejudiced the masters against me, who accordingly refused to employ me. The idea then suggested itself to me of going to New York, the nearest town in which there was a printing office. Farther reflections confirmed me in the design of leaving Boston, where I had already rendered myself an object of suspicion to the governing party. It was probable, from the

arbitrary proceedings of the assembly in the affair of my brother, that, by remaining, I should soon have been exposed to difficulties, which I had the greater reason to apprehend, as, from my indiscreet disputes upon the subject of religion, I begun to be regarded by pious souls with horror, either as an apostate or an atheist. I came, therefore, to a resolution; but my father, in this instance, siding with my brother, I presumed that if I attempted to depart openly, measures would be taken to prevent me. My friend Collins undertook to favour my flight. He agreed for my passage with the captain of a New York sloop, to whom he represented me as a young man of his acquaintance, who had an affair with a girl of bad character, whose parents wished to compel me to marry her, and that, of consequence, I could neither make my appearance nor go off publicly. I sold part of my books to procure a small sum of money, and went privately on board the sloop. By favour of a good wind, I found myself, in three days, at New-York, nearly 300 miles from my home, at the age only of seventeen years, without knowing an individual in the place, and with very little money in my pocket.

The inclination I had felt for a seafaring life was entirely subsided, or I should now have been able to gratify it; but having another trade, and believing myself to be a tolerable workman, I hesitated not to offer my services to the old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but had quitted that province on account of a quarrel with George Keith, the Governor. He could not give me employment himself, having little to do, and already as many hands as he wanted; but he told me, that his son, a printer at Philadelphia, had lately lost his principal workman, Aquila Rose, who was dead, and that, if I would go thither, he believed that he would engage me. Philadelphia was 100 miles farther. I hesi-

tated not to embark in a boat in order to repair, by the shortest cut of the sea, to Amboy, leaving my trunk and effects to come after me by the usual and more tedious conveyance. In crossing the bay we met with a squall, which shattered to pieces our rotten sails, prevented us from entering the Kill, and threw us upon Long-Island.

During the squall a drunken Dutchman, who like myself was a passenger in the boat, fell into the sea. At the moment that he was sinking I seized him by the fore-top, saved him, and drew him on board. This immersion sobered him a little, so that he fell asleep, after having taken from his pocket a volume, which he requested me to dry. This volume I found to be my old favourite work, Bunyan's Voyages, in Dutch, a beautiful impression on fine paper, with copper-plate engravings; a dress in which I had never seen it in its original language. I have since learned that it had been translated into almost all the languages of Europe, and, next to the bible, I am persuaded it is one of the books which has had the greatest spread. Honest John is the first that I know of, who has mixed narrative and dialogue together; a mode of writing very engaging to the reader, who, in the most interesting passages, finds himself admitted as it were into the company, and present at the conversation. De Foe has imitated it with success in his Robinson Crusoe, his Moll Flanders, and other works; as also has Richardson in his Pamela, &c.

In approaching the island, we found that we had made a part of the coast where it was not possible to land, on account of the strong breakers produced by the rocky shore. We cast anchor and veered the cable toward the shore. Some men who stood upon the brink, hallooed to us, while we did the same on our part; but the wind was so high, and the waves so noisy, that we could neither

of us hear each other. There were some canoes upon the bank, and we called out to them, and made signs to prevail on them to come and take us up; but either they did not understand us, or they deemed our request impracticable, and withdrew. Night came on, and nothing remained for us but to wait the subsiding of the wind; till when we determined, that is, the pilot and I, to sleep if possible. For that purpose we went below the hatches along with the Dutchman, who was drenched with water. The sea broke over the boat, and reached us in our retreat, so that we were presently as completely drenched as he.

We had very little repose during the whole night; but the wind abating the next day, we succeeded in reaching Amboy before it was dark, after having passed thirty hours without provisions, and with no other drink than a bottle of bad rum, the water upon which we rowed being salt. In the evening I went to bed with a violent fever. I had somewhere read that cold water, drank plentifully, was a remedy in such cases. I followed the prescription, was in a profuse sweat for the greater part of the night, and the fever left me. The next day I crossed the river in a ferry-boat, and continued my journey on foot. I had fifty miles to walk, in order to reach Burlington, where I was told I should find passage-boats that would convey me to Philadelphia. It rained hard the whole day, so that I was wet to the skin. Finding myself fatigued about noon, I stopped at a paltry inn, where I passed the rest of the day and the whole night, beginning to regret that I quitted my home. I made besides so wretched a figure, that I was suspected to be some runaway servant. This I discovered by the questions that were asked me; and I felt that I was every moment in danger of being taken up as such. The next day, however, I continued my journey, and arrived in the evening

at an inn, eight or ten miles from Burlington, that was kept by one Dr. Brown.

This man entered into conversation with me while I took some refreshment, and, perceiving that I had read a little, he expressed towards me considerable interest and friendship. Our acquaintance continued during the remainder of his life. I believe him to have been what is called an itinerant doctor; for there was no town in England, or indeed in Europe, of which he could not give a particular account.

I spent the night at his house, and reached Burlington the next morning. On my arrival, I had the mortification to learn that the ordinary passage-boats had sailed a little before. This was on a Saturday, and there would be no other boat till the Tuesday following. I returned to the house of an old woman in the town, who had sold me some gingerbread to eat on my passage, and I asked her advice. She invited me to take up my abode with her till an opportunity offered for me to embark. Fatigued with having travelled so far on foot, I accepted her invitation. When she understood that I was a printer, she would have persuaded me to stay at Burlington, and set up my trade: but she was little aware of the capital that would be necessary for such a purchase! I was treated while at her house with true hospitality. She gave me, with the utmost good will, a dinner of beef-steaks and would accept of nothing in return but a pint of ale.

Here I imagined myself to be fixed till the Tuesday in the ensuing week; but walking out in the evening by the river side, I saw a boat with a number of persons in it approach. It was going to Philadelphia, and the company took me in. As there was no wind, we could only make way with our oars. About midnight, not perceiving the town, some of the company were of opinion that

we must have passed it, and were unwilling to row any farther; the rest not knowing where we were, it was resolved that we should stop. We drew towards the shore, entered a creek, and landed near some old palisades, which served us for fire-wood, it being a cold night in October. Here we staid till day, when one of the company found the place, in which we were, to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia; which in reality we perceived the moment we were out of the creek. We arrived on Sunday, about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, and landed on Market-street wharf.

I have entered into the particulars of my voyage, and shall in like manner describe my first entrance into this city, that you may be able to compare beginnings so little auspicious, with the figure I have since made.

On my arrival at Philadelphia I was in my working dress, my best clothes being to come by sea. I was covered with dirt; my pockets were filled with shirts and stockings; I was unacquainted with a single soul in the place, and knew not where to seek for a lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and having passed the night without sleep, I was extremely hungry, and all my money consisted of a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling's worth of coppers, which I gave to the boatmen for my passage. As I had assisted them in rowing, they refused it at first; but I insisted on their taking it. A man is sometimes more generous when he has little, than when he has much money; probably because, in the first case, he is desirous of concealing his poverty.

I walked towards the top of the street, looking eagerly on both sides, till I came to Market-street, where I met a child with a loaf of bread. Often had I made my dinner on dry bread. I enquired where he had bought it, and went straight to the baker's shop which he had pointed out to me. I

asked for some biscuits, expecting to find such as we had at Boston ; but they made, it seems, none of that sort in Philadelphia. I then asked for a three-penny loaf. They made no loaves of that price. Finding myself ignorant of the prices as well as of the different kinds of bread, I desired him to let me have three penny worth of bread of some kind or other. He gave me three large rolls. I was surprised at receiving so much; I took them, however, and having no room in my pockets, I walked on with a roll under each arm, eating the third. In this manner I went through Market street to fourth street, and passed the house of Mr. Read, the father of my future wife. She was standing at the door, observed me, and thought with reason, that I made a very singular and grotesque appearance.

I then turned the corner, and went through Chestnut street, eating my roll all the way ; and having made this round, I found myself again on Market street wharf, near the boat in which I had arrived. I stepped into it to take a draught of river water, and finding myself satisfied with my first roll, I gave the other two to a woman and her child, who had come down the river with us in the boat, and was waiting to continue her journey. Thus refreshed, I regained the street, which was now full of well dressed people, all going the same way. I joined them, and was thus led to a large Quaker's meeting house, near the market place. I sat down with the rest, and after looking round me for some time, hearing nothing said, and being drowsy from my last night's labour and want of rest, I fell into a sound sleep. In this state I continued till the assembly dispersed, when one of the congregation had the goodness to wake me. This was, consequently, the first house I entered, or in which I slept at Philadelphia.

I began again to walk along the streets by the

river side, and looking attentively in the face of every one I met, I at length perceived a young Quaker, whose countenance pleased me. I accosted him, and begged him to inform me where a stranger might find a lodging. We were then near the sign of the 'Three Mariners'. They receive travellers here, said he, but it is not a house that bears a good character; if you will go with me I will shew you a better one. He conducted me to the Crooked Billet, in Water street. There I ordered something for dinner, and during my meal, a number of curious questions were put to me; my youth and appearance exciting the suspicion of my being a runaway. After dinner my drowsiness returned, and I threw myself upon a bed without taking off my clothes, and I slept till six in the evening, when I was called to supper. I afterwards went to bed at a very early hour, and did not wake till the next morning.

As soon as I got up, I put myself in as decent a trim as I could, and went to the house of Andrew Bradford, the printer. I found his father in the shop, whom I had seen at New York. Having travelled on horseback, he had arrived at Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me with civility, and gave me some breakfast; but he told me he had no occasion for a journeyman, having lately procured one. He added, that there was another printer newly settled in the town, of the name of Keimer, who might perhaps employ me; and in case of a refusal, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work now and then, till something better should offer.

The old man offered to introduce me to the new printer. When we were at his house, "neighbour," said he, "I bring you a young man in the printing business, perhaps you may have need of his services." Keimer asked me some questions, put a

composing stick in my hand to see how I could work, and then said, that at present he had nothing for me to do, but that he should soon be able to employ me. At the same time taking old Bradford for an inhabitant of the town well disposed towards him, he communicated his project to him, and the prospect he had of success. Bradford was careful not to discover that he was the father of the other printer; and from what Keimer had said, that he hoped shortly to be in possession of the greater part of the business of the town, led him by artful questions, and by starting some difficulties, to disclose all his views, what his hopes were founded upon, and how he intended to proceed. I was present and heard it all. I instantly saw that one of the two was a cunning old fox, and the other a perfect novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was strangely surprised when I informed him who the old man was.

I found Keimer's printing materials to consist of an old damaged press, and a small font of worn out English letters, with which he was himself to work upon an elegy on Aquila Rose, whom I have mentioned above, an ingenious young man, and of an excellent character, highly esteemed in the town, secretary to the assembly, and a very tolerable poet. Keimer also made verses, but they were indifferent ones. He could not be said to write in verse, for his method was, to take and set the lines as they flowed from his muse; and, as he worked without copy, had but one set of letter cases, and the elegy would probably occupy all his type, it was impossible for any one to assist him. I endeavoured to put his press in order, which he had not yet used, and of which indeed he understood nothing; and having promised to come and work off his elegy as soon as it should be ready, I returned to the house of Bradford, who gave me some trifle to do for the present, for which I had my board and lodging.

In a few days Keimer sent for me to print off his elegy. He had now procured another set of letter-cases, and had a pamphlet to re-print, upon which he set me to work.

The two Philadelphia printers appeared destitute of every qualification necessary in their profession. Bradford had not been brought up to it, and was very illiterate. Keimer, though he understood a little of the business, was merely a compositor, and wholly incapable of working a press. He had read one of the French prophets, and knew how to imitate their supernatural agitations. At the time of our first acquaintance he professed no particular religion, but a little of all upon occasion. He was totally ignorant of the world, and a great knave at heart, as I had afterwards an opportunity of experiencing.

Keimer could not endure that, working with him, I should lodge at Bradford's. He had indeed a house, but it was unfurnished, so that he could not take me in. He procured me a lodging at Mr. Read's, his landlord, whom I have already mentioned. My trunk and effects being now arrived, I thought of making, in the eyes of Miss Read, a more respectable appearance than when chance exhibited me to her view, eating my roll, and wandering in the streets.

From this period I began to contract acquaintance with such young people of the town as were fond of reading, and spent my evenings with them agreeably, while at the same time, I gained money by my industry; and, thanks to my frugality, lived contented. I thus forgot Boston as much as possible, and wished every one to be ignorant of the place of my residence, except my friend Collins, to whom I wrote, and who kept my secret.

As the limits of our work will not permit us to give an elaborate sketch of any one individual, we are compelled to stop the interesting memoirs

written by Dr. Franklin himself, and continue his biography in a more condensed form.

He re-appeared in his native town, after an absence of seven months, with a strong recommendation from sir William Keith to his father; was affectionately welcomed; and, though he failed in his main object, secured the consent of his parents to his return to Philadelphia. At New York, on his way back, he had an adventure which bespeaks, as does the conduct of Sir William Keith, the simplicity of the times, and the great superiority of Franklin, at so early an age, to his lowly condition. The governor of New York, a man of letters, hearing from the captain of the packet in which he sailed, that one of the passengers had a number of volumes on board, sent for our job-workman, the passenger in question, showed him his library, and conversed courteously and largely with him about books and authors.

He enlisted himself anew at Philadelphia, with his first master, formed acquaintance with a number of young men of a speculative and literary turn, bestowed his leisure hours upon metaphysics and poetry, and kept his reasoning faculties in constant and invigorating exercise. His patron, sir William Keith, drew him by fine promises into a scheme of going to England, in order to purchase a set of types; with which he was to be established in business at home. He credulously embarked, and discovered, on his arrival in London, that he had been miserably duped, and must depend upon his own unaided exertions to find a subsistence in that vast capital. It is to be noted, in proof of the goodness of his heart, that he bears testimony, in his memoirs, to the valuable qualities and public services of the man who practised upon him this despicable and cruel imposition.

He was accompanied to England by one of his literary associates, Ralph, who, being destitute of

money, preyed upon his meagre purse, and increased the difficulties of his position. He found means, however, to fix himself in a considerable printing-office, and became a model of industry and temperance, and an example well worthy of being followed by young men. He went to board with an old Catholic lady, at one shilling and six pence per week, and remained with her until his departure from England. He procured books for his lucubrations, at a small subscription, from a private collection of great extent, but was led astray by the sceptical writers that fell into his hands, and even wrote and printed himself a small treatise of infidel metaphysics. It drew upon him the notice of a deistical author, who introduced him to Mandeville, and some other spirits of the same order. His strong natural sense soon extricated him, however, from the illusions of the moment; and he has, by the reprobation of them to which he so often and earnestly returns in his memoirs, made ample amends. The other acts of his youth which he records as transgressions, are greatly extenuated by concomitant circumstances: they are so confessed as convey a most salutary moral; and it is evidently with this view, as well as in obedience to historical truth, that they are acknowledged.

It was in his twenty-first year, after a residence of eighteen months in London, that he set sail from Gravesend for Philadelphia, under the auspices of a friendly merchant who had engaged him, as clerk for a dry-goods shop, and given him the magnificent expectation of being promoted to the rank of supercargo to the West-Indies. This plan had well nigh been superceded by one which took, immediately before his departure, a stronger hold of his fancy; to wit, the opening of a school for swimming, an art in which he was remarkably expert. During the voyage homewards, he kept a journal, which shows that his style was already in a great

degree formed, and in which are to be discerned the intellectual habits that gave so much eclat and usefulness to his maturer years. On this voyage, too, he resolved to form some plan for his future conduct, by which he might promote his fortune, and procure respect and reputation in society. This plan is prefaced by the following reflections: "Those who write of the art of Poetry, teach us, that if we would write what would be worth the reading, we ought always, before we begin, to form a regular design of our piece; otherwise we shall be in danger of incongruity. I am apt to think it is the same as to life. I have never fixed a regular design in life; by which means it has been a confused variety of different scenes. I am now entering upon a new one: let me, therefore, make some resolutions, and form some scheme of action, that henceforth, I may live in all respects like a rational creature."

To these remarks he annexed a series of rules and moral principles, which, at the same time, they show his noble ardour for virtue, may afford those animated with the same spirit, no unprofitable example. They are as follow:

"I resolve to be extremely frugal for some time, until I pay what I owe.

"To speak the truth in every instance; to give nobody expectations that are not likely to be answered, but aim at sincerity in every word and action; the most amiable excellence in a rational being.

"To apply myself industriously to whatever business I take in hand, and not divert my mind from my business by any foolish project of growing suddenly rich; for industry and patience are the surer means of plenty.

"I resolve to speak ill of no man whatever, not even in matter of truth; but rather by some means excuse the faults I hear charged upon others, and

upon proper occasions speak all the good I know of every body," &c.

To these resolutions, although they were formed in the ardour of a youthful imagination, he adhered, with a scrupulous fidelity; and the foundation, we must admit, was not unworthy of the superstructure he afterwards reared upon it.

He arrived in Philadelphia on the 11th of October, and embarked upon his new adopted profession. But in the course of a few months, just as he began to make some figure in the mystery of a haberdasher, his employer died, and he had to return to his proper trade. An offer of large wages induced him to undertake the management of the printing-office of his quondam master, to whom he rendered, by his skill and industry, the most important service. They quarrelled ere long, and Franklin left him to form a similar establishment in connexion with a fellow journeyman, whose father, a man of some wealth, was to supply the stock. New types were purchased for the firm in London, and business followed apace. Our philosopher had recommended himself, by the perfect regularity of his deportment, and the intelligence of his conversation, to the favour of a number of leading persons, and had founded a club or debating society, composed of young men of some consideration, all of whom took a lively interest in his advancement. This club, the *Junto*, which discussed formally and laboriously, points of morals, politics, and natural philosophy, administered in an important degree to the improvement of his understanding, as well as of his fortunes.

The countenance of his friends, and still more his indefatigable assiduity in his office, contributed to remove obstacles of some magnitude. The establishment acquired consistency from day to day. In a short time a newspaper was added to it, and managed with equal ability. Franklin seiz-

ed upon the topics most interesting to the public, and gave particular satisfaction by asserting the rights of the people, against the governor of Massachusetts, on the occasion of a dispute in which they were involved. The notice of the assembly of Pennsylvania was attracted to his paper, and but a short time elapsed before the editors were appointed its official printers. This he mentions as "one of the first good effects of his having learned to scribble."

In the year 1729, his partner, who had become a mere burden, happily retired from the association, and the capital which he withdrew was replaced, as a loan, by two of the many zealous friends whom Franklin had created. He greatly increased, at this time, his reputation and popularity, by publishing a pamphlet of his own, "On the Nature and Necessity of Paper Currency." He treated this subject in such a manner as to occasion an additional emission of paper, which proved of signal utility to trade in general. The industry which he displayed, in every way, was truly admirable. He had opened a small stationer's shop, which he contrived to conduct in person, besides performing the manual labour of the printing office, arranging and replenishing his Gazette, writing pamphlets, and taking part in the literary exercises of the Junto. The paper which he purchased at the stores, he carried home through the streets in a wheelbarrow: though not twenty-four years of age, he abstained from all idle diversion, and if a book seduced him from his work, he read clandestinely, lest he should give scandal. Credit, confidence, and custom, were the natural effects of this demeanour. He was enabled by degrees to pay off his debt, and to venture upon marriage.—Before his voyage to England, he had exchanged vows with a Miss Read, a young lady of excellent character and respectable connexions. He neg-

lected her somewhat, however, during his absence; and this circumstance, added to the exhortations of her relatives, hurried her into a match of a very inauspicious nature. She soon parted from a worthless husband, who fled from his creditors to the West Indies, and there died. Franklin finding her again free, renewed his addresses, as well to repair the wrong he accused himself of having committed by his neglect when in England, as to indulge the mutual affection which had revived in the intercourse of society. They were united in 1730, and he depicts her in his memoirs, as "a good and faithful helpmate."

About the date of his marriage, he projected a common library for the club, and soon afterwards procured the establishment of the Philadelphia Library, "the fruitful mother of a hundred more," throughout these states. This institution afforded him the means of wider research. He set apart a small portion of each day for study, and gave the remainder entirely to business. His domestic economy lost nothing by the presence of his wife in point of order and frugality, cheerfulness, and unremitting diligence. His mind became more intent, as his circumstances grew easier, upon the permanent regulation of his appetites, and the general perfection of his moral temperament. The edifying, sure train of reflection into which he fell on the subject, and the strict, ingenious system of discipline, which he followed for the purpose, may be seen at large in his memoirs. It will likewise be seen there, that he kept steadily in view the benefit to accrue to the public from his example and reasonings. He was brought early, by experience and meditation, to the conviction, that virtue, in the most enlarged sense, is the necessity of life; and, from first to last, his desire was not more earnest to secure it for himself than for the human race.

In 1732, he began to publish poor Richard's almanac, which was enriched with maxims of frugality, temperance, industry, and integrity. So great was its reputation, that he sold ten thousand annually, and it was continued by him about twenty-five years. The maxims were collected in the last almanac, in the form of an address, called the way to wealth, which has appeared in various publications. In 1736, he was appointed clerk of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, and in 1737, postmaster of Philadelphia. The first fire company was formed by him in 1738. When the frontiers of Pennsylvania were endangered in 1744, and an ineffectual attempt was made to procure a militia law, he proposed a voluntary association for the defence of the province, and in a short time obtained ten thousand names. In 1747, he was chosen a member of the assembly, and continued in this station ten years. In all important discussions his presence was considered as indispensable. He seldom spoke, and never exhibited any oratory; but by a single observation he sometimes determined the fate of a question. In the long controversies with the proprietaries or their governors, he took the most active part, and displayed a firm spirit of liberty.

He was now engaged for a number of years in a course of electrical experiments, of which he published an account. His great discovery was the identity of the electric fluid and lightning. This discovery he made in the summer of 1752. To the upright stick of a kite he attached an iron point; the string was of hemp, excepting the part which he held in his hand, which was silk; and a key was fastened where the hempen string terminated. With this apparatus, on the approach of a thunder storm, he raised his kite. A cloud passed over it, and no sign of electricity appearing, he began to despair; but observing the loose fibres

of his string to move suddenly toward an erect position, he presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. The success of this experiment completely established his theory. The practical use of this discovery in securing houses from lightning, by pointed conductors, is well known in America and Europe. In 1753, he was appointed deputy postmaster-general of the British colonies, and in the same year the academy of Philadelphia, projected by him, was established. In 1754, he was one of the commissioners, who attended the Congress at Albany, to devise the best means of defending the country against the French. He drew up a plan of union for defence and general government, which was adopted by the congress. It was, however, rejected by the board of trade in England, because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people; and it was rejected by the assemblies of the colonies, because it gave too much power to the president general. After the defeat of Braddock he was appointed colonel of a regiment, and he repaired to the frontiers and built a fort.

Higher employments, however, at length called him from his country, which he was destined to serve more effectually, as its agent in England, whither he was sent in 1757. The stamp act, by which the British minister wished to familiarize the Americans to pay taxes to the mother country, revived that love of liberty, which had led their forefathers to a country, at that time a desert: and the colonies formed a congress, the first idea of which had been communicated to them by Franklin, at the conferences at Albany, in 1754. The war that was just terminated, and the exertions made by them to support it, had given them a conviction of their strength; they opposed this measure, and the minister gave way, but he reserved the means of renewing the attempt. Once cau-

tioned, however, they remained on their guard; liberty cherished by their alarms, took deeper root; and the rapid circulation of ideas, by means of newspapers, for the introduction of which they were indebted to the printer at Philadelphia, united them together to resist every fresh enterprise. In the year 1766, this printer, called to the bar of the house of commons, underwent that famous interrogatory, which placed the name of Franklin as high in politics, as it was in natural philosophy. From that time he defended the cause of America with a firmness and moderation becoming a great man, pointing out to the ministry all the errors they committed, and the consequences they would produce, till the period when the tax on tea meeting the same opposition as the stamp act had done, England blindly fancied herself capable of subjecting, by force, 3,000,000 of men determined to be free, at a distance of 1000 leagues. In 1766, he visited Holland, and Germany, and received the greatest marks of attention from men of science. In his passage through Holland, he learned from the watermen, the effect which the diminution of the quantity of water in canals has in impeding the progress of boats. Upon his return to England, he was led to make a number of experiments, all of which tended to confirm the observation.

In the following year, he travelled into France, where he met with no less favourable reception than he had experienced in Germany. He was introduced to a number of literary characters, and to the king, Louis XV.

He returned to America, and arrived in Philadelphia in the beginning of May, 1775, and was received with all those marks of esteem and affection, which his eminent services merited. The day after his arrival he was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of congress.

It was in this year that Dr. Franklin addressed that memorable and laconic epistle to his old friend and companion, Mr. Strahan, then king's printer, and member of the British parliament, of which the following is a correct copy, and of which a fac-simile is given in the last, and most correct edition of his works:

Philada. July 5, 1775.

MR. STRAHAN,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction.—You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People.—Look upon your Hands!—They are stained with the Blood of your Relations!—You and I were long Friends:—You are now my Enemy,—and

I am,

Yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin was appointed by Congress, jointly with Mr. Harrison and Mr. Lynch, a committee to visit the American camp at Cambridge, and, in conjunction with the commander in chief, (general Washington,) to endeavour to convince the troops, whose term of enlistment was about to expire, of the necessity of their continuing in the field, and persevering in the cause of their country.

He was, afterwards, sent on a mission to Canada, to endeavour to unite that country to the common cause of liberty. But the Canadians could not be prevailed upon to oppose the measures of the British government.

It was directed that a printing apparatus, and hands, competent to print in French and English, should accompany this mission. Two papers were written and circulated very extensively through

Canada; but it was not until after the experiment had been tried, that it was found not more than one person in five hundred *could read*.—Dr. Franklin was accustomed to make the best of every occurrence, suggested that if it were intended to send another mission, it should be a mission composed of schoolmasters.

He was, in 1776, appointed a committee with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to inquire into the powers, with which lord Howe was invested in regard to the adjustment of our differences with Great Britain. When his lordship expressed his concern at being obliged to distress those, whom he so much regarded, Dr. Franklin assured him that the Americans, out of reciprocal regard, would endeavour to lessen, as much as possible, the pain which he might feel on their account, by taking the utmost care of themselves. In the discussion of the great question of independence, he was decidedly in favour of the measure. He was in the same year, chosen president of the convention which met in Philadelphia, to form a new constitution for Pennsylvania. The single legislature and the plural executive, seem to have been his favourite principles. In the latter end of the year 1776, he was sent to France to assist in negotiation with Mr. Arthur Lee and Silas Deane. He had much influence in forming the treaty of alliance and commerce, which was signed February 6, 1778, and he afterwards completed a treaty of amity and commerce with Sweden. In conjunction with Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, he signed the provisional articles of peace, November 30, 1782, and the definitive treaty, September 30, 1783. While he was in France he was appointed one of the commissioners to examine Mesmer's animal magnetism in 1784. Being desirous of returning to his native country he requested that an ambassador might be appointed in his

place, and on the arrival of his successor, Mr. Jefferson, he immediately sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived in September, 1785. He was received with universal applause, and was soon appointed president of the supreme executive council. In 1787, he was a delegate to the grand convention, which formed the constitution of the United States. In this convention he had differed in some points from the majority; but when the articles were ultimately decreed, he said to his colleagues, "*We ought to have but one opinion; the good of our country requires that the resolution should be unanimous;*" and he signed.

On the 17th of April, 1790, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, he expired in the city of Philadelphia; encountering this last solemn conflict, with the same philosophical tranquillity and pious resignation to the will of Heaven, which had distinguished him through all the various events of his life.

He was interred, on the 21st of April, and congress ordered a general mourning for him throughout America, of one month. In France, the expression of public grief, was scarcely less enthusiastic. There the event was solemnized, under the direction of the municipality of Paris, by funeral orations; and the national assembly, his death being announced in a very eloquent and pathetic discourse, decreed that each of the members should wear mourning for three days, "in commemoration of the event;" and that a letter of condolence, for the irreparable loss they had sustained, should be directed to the American congress. Honours extremely glorious to his memory, and such, it has been remarked, as were never before paid by any public body of one nation, to the citizen of another.

He lies buried in the north-west corner of Christ Church-yard; distinguished from the surrounding

dead, by the humility of his sepulchre. He is covered by a small marble slab, on a level with the surface of the earth, and bearing the single inscription of his name, with that of his wife. A monument sufficiently corresponding to the plainness of his manners, little suitable to the splendor of his virtues.

He had two children, a son and a daughter, and several grand-children who survived him. The son, who had been governor of New-Jersey, until the British government, adhered, during the revolution, to the royal party, and spent the remainder of his life in England. The daughter married Mr Bache, of Philadelphia, whose descendants yet reside in that city.

Franklin enjoyed, during the greater part of his life, a healthy constitution, and excelled in exercises of strength and activity. In stature he was above the middle size; manly, athletic, and well proportioned. His countenance, as it is represented in his portrait, is distinguished by an air of serenity and satisfaction; the natural consequences of a vigorous temperament, of strength of mind, and conscious integrity: It is also marked, in visible characters, by deep thought and inflexible resolution.

The whole life of Franklin, his meditations and his labours, have all been directed to public utility; but the grand object that he had always in view, did not shut his heart against private friendship; he loved his family, and his friends, and was extremely beneficent. In society he was sententious, but not fluent; a listener rather than a talker; an informing rather than a pleasing companion. Impatient of interruption, he often mentioned the custom of the Indians, who always remain some time before they give an answer to a question which they have heard attentively; unlike the politest societies in Europe, where a man

general Schuyler, had deprived Burgoyne of all those resources which the neighbouring country might have afforded him. After a fortnight's labour, he had been able to collect only twelve boats, and five day's provision for his army. An attempt to obtain possession of a depository of provisions at Bennington, had failed, and two detachments, sent on that service had been defeated. The militia of the eastern and lower country were rapidly collecting, and threatened to raise obstacles still more formidable than those of nature.

Gates was now appointed to succeed Schuyler, and arrived at the scene of action on the 21st of August, 1777.

It was fortunate for general Gates, that the retreat from Ticonderoga had been conducted under other auspices than his, and that he took the command when the indefatigable but unrequited labors of Schuyler, and the courage of Starke and his mountaineers, had already insured the ultimate defeat of Burgoyne, who, notwithstanding his unfavourable prospects, would not think of saving his army by a timely retreat, was highly propitious to the new American commander.

After collecting thirty days provision, Burgoyne passed the Hudson and encamped at Saratoga.—Gates, with numbers already equal, and daily increasing, began to advance towards him with a resolution to oppose his progress at the risk of a battle. He encamped at Stillwater, and Burgoyne hastened forward to open the way with his sword. On the 17th of September, the two armies were within four miles of each other. Two days after, skirmishes between advanced parties terminated in an engagement almost general, in which the utmost efforts of the British merely enabled them to maintain the footing of the preceding day.

Burgoyne, unassisted by the British forces under Clinton at New York, found himself unable to

pursue his march down the river, and in the hope of this assistance, was content to remain in his camp, and stand on the defensive. His army was likewise diminished by the desertion of the Indians and Canadian militia, to less than one half of its original number. Gates, finding his forces largely increasing, being plentifully supplied with provisions, and knowing that Burgoyne had only a limited store, which was rapidly lessening, and could not be recruited, was not without hopes that victory would come, in time, even without a battle.— His troops were so numerous, and his fortified position so strong, that he was able to take measures for preventing the retreat of the enemy, by occupying the strong posts in his rear. Accordingly, nineteen days passed without any further operations, a delay as ruinous to one party, as it was advantageous to the other. At the end of this period, the British general found his prospects of assistance as remote as ever, and the consumption of his stores so alarming, that retreat or victory became unavoidable alternatives.

On the 8th of October, a warm action ensued, in which the British were every where repulsed, and a part of their lines occupied by their enemies. Burgoyne's loss was very considerable in killed, wounded and prisoners, while the favourable situation of Gates's army made its losses in the battle of no moment. Burgoyne retired in the night to a stronger camp, but the measures immediately taken by Gates to cut off his retreat, compelled him without delay to regain his former camp at Saratoga. There he arrived with little molestation from his adversary. His provisions being now reduced to the supply of a few days, the transport of artillery and baggage, towards Canada, being rendered impracticable by the judicious measures of his adversary, the British general resolved upon a rapid retreat, merely with what the soldiers could carry.

On a careful scrutiny, however, it was found that they were deprived even of this resource, as the passes through which their route lay, were so strongly guarded, that nothing but artillery could clear them. In this desperate situation a parley took place, and on the 16th of October the whole army surrendered to Gates. The prize obtained consisted of more than five thousand prisoners, some fine artillery, seven thousand muskets, clothing for 7000 men, with a great quantity of tents, and other military stores. All the frontier fortresses were immediately abandoned to the victors.

It is not easy to overrate the importance of this success. It may be considered as deciding the war of the revolution, as from that period the British cause began rapidly to decline. The capture of Cornwallis was hardly of equal importance to that of Burgoyne, and was, in itself, an event of much less splendour, and productive of less exultation.

How far the misfortunes of Burgoyne were owing to the accidents beyond human controul, and how far they are ascribed to the individual conduct and courage of the American commander, would be a useless and invidious inquiry. Reasoning on the ordinary ground, his merits were exceedingly great, and this event entitled him to a high rank among the deliverers of his country. The memory of all former misfortunes were effaced by the magnitude of this victory, and the government and people vied with each other in expressing their admiration of the conquering general. Besides the thanks of congress, the general received from the president a gold medal, as a memorial of their gratitude.

Every war abounds with cases of private suffering and distress, very few of which become public, though sympathy and curiosity are powerfully excited by narratives of that kind; and the feel-

ings of a whole nation are remarkably swayed by them. The expedition of Burgoyne was adorned by the romantic and affecting tales of M'Crea, and lady Harriet Ackland. The latter is of no further consequence in this narration, than as it reflects great credit on the politeness and humanity of general Gates. Major Ackland, the husband of this lady, was wounded and made prisoner in one of the battles preceding the surrender, and his wife, in going to the hostile camp to attend her husband, met with a reception, which proved that long converse with military scenes, had left the virtues of humanity wholly unimpaired in his bosom.

Gates was now placed at the head of the board of war; a post of trust and dignity, scarcely inferior to that of the commander in chief.

He was in a private station, residing on his farm in Virginia, in June, 1780. The low state of their affairs, in the southern districts, induced congress, on the 13th of that month, to call him to the chief command in that quarter. The state of affairs in Pennsylvania, Jersey, and New York, afforded sufficient employment for Washington, and Gates being the next in rank and reputation, was resorted to as the last refuge of his suffering country.

The efforts of the British in the southern states had been very strenuous and successful. Charleston, the chief city, had been taken. All the American detachments, collected with great difficulty, easily dissolved by their own fears, ill furnished with arms, and unqualified for war, by inexperience and want of discipline, were instantly overwhelmed and dispersed by the well equipped cavalry of Tarleton, and the veterans of Rawdon and Cornwallis. The American leaders were famous for their valour, perseverance, and activity; but these qualities would not supply the place of

guns; and of hands to manage them. At this crisis Gates took the command of that miserable remnant which bore the name of the southern army, and which mustered about fifteen hundred men. A very numerous and formidable force existed in the promises of North Carolina and Virginia. The paper armies of the new states always made a noble appearance. All the muniments of war overflowed the skirts of these armies; but, alas! the field was as desolate as the paper estimate was full. The promised army proved to be only one tenth of the stipulated number, and assembled at the scene of action long after the fixed time. The men were destitute of arms and ammunition, and, what was most to be regretted, were undisciplined.

Two modes of immediate action were proposed. One was to advance into the country possessed by the enemy, by a road somewhat circuitous, but which would supply the army with accommodation and provisions. Gates was averse to dilatory measures. He was, perhaps, somewhat misled by the splendid success which had hitherto attended him. He was anxious to come to action immediately, and to terminate the war by a few bold and energetic efforts. He, therefore, resolved to collect all the troops into one body, and to meet the enemy as soon as possible. Two days after his arrival in camp he began his march by the most direct road. This road, unfortunately, led through a barren country, in the hottest and most unwholesome season of the year.

During this march, all the forebodings of those who preferred a different track, were amply fulfilled. A scanty supply of cattle, found nearly wild in the woods, was their principal sustenance, while bread or flour was almost wholly wanting, and when we add to a scarcity of food, the malignity of the climate and the season, we shall not

wonder that the work of the enemy was anticipated in the destruction of considerable numbers by disease. The perseverance of Gates, in surmounting the obstacles presented by piny thickets and dismal swamps, deserves praise, however injudicious the original choice of such a road may be thought by some. In this course he effected a junction with some militia of North Carolina, and with a detachment under Porterfield.

He finally took possession of Clermont, whence the British commander, lord Rawdon, had previously withdrawn. That general prepared, by collecting and centering his forces in one body, to overwhelm him in a single battle. Lord Rawdon was posted, with his forces, at Camden. After some deliberation, the American leader determined to approach the English, and expose himself to the chance of a battle.

Rumour had made the numbers of the Americans much greater than they really were in the imagination of the British. Cornwallis, himself, hastened to the scene of action, and, though mustering all his strength for this arduous occasion, could not bring two thousand effective men into the field. Nineteen, however, out of twenty, of these, were veterans of the most formidable qualifications. With the reinforcement of seven hundred Virginia militia and some other detachments, Gates's army did not fall short of four thousand men. A very small portion of these were regular troops, while the rest were a wavering and undisciplined militia, whose presence was rather injurious than beneficial.

Notwithstanding his inferiority of numbers, Cornwallis found that a retreat would be more pernicious than a battle under the worst auspices; and he himself on the 16th of August, prepared to attack his enemy. General Gates had taken the same resolution at the same time; and the adverse

forces came to an engagement, in which the Americans suffered a defeat. The loss of the battle was ascribed, with reason, to the unskilfulness of the militia. Among these the route and confusion was absolute and irretrievable, and Gates had the singular fortune of conducting the most prosperous and the most disastrous of the military enterprises in this war.

Here was a dismal reverse in the life of Gates. His prosperous scale sunk at Camden as fast as it had mounted at Saratoga. There had been a difference of opinion as to the best road to the theatre of action, and the hardships and diseases which one party had foretold would infest the road which he took, actually exceeded what was menaced. A battle lost against half the number, in circumstances where the vanquished army was taken, in some degree, by surprise, would not fail to suggest suspicions as to the caution or discernment of the general.

Gates continued in command till October the 5th, in the same year, about fifty days after the disaster at Camden. In this interval he had been busily employed in repairing the consequences of that defeat, and was now reposing for the winter. He was, on that day, however, displaced, and subjected to the inquiry of a special court. The inquiry was a tedious one, but terminated finally in the acquittal of the general. He was reinstated in his military command in the year 1782. In the meantime, however, the great scenes of the southern war, especially the capture of Cornwallis, had past. Little room was afforded to a new general to gather either laurels or henbane. A particular detail of those transactions in which he was concerned, exceeds the limits prescribed to this hasty sketch. In like manner, we are unable to digest that voluminous mass of letters, evidences, and

documents by which the resolution of congress, in favour of his conduct at Camden, was dictated.

The capture of Cornwallis which produced such grand and immediate consequences, swallowed up the memory of all former exploits, and whatever sentence the impartial historian may pronounce on the comparative importance of the capture of Burgoyne, and the surrender of Cornwallis, to the national welfare, or to the merit of the leaders, the people of that time could not hearken to any such parallel. They swam in joy and exultation, and the hero of York-town was alike with congress and with the people the only saviour of his country.

When the revolution was completed, Gates retired to his plantation in Virginia. We are unacquainted with the particulars of his domestic economy; but have reason to infer that it was eminently mild and liberal, since seven years afterwards, when he took up his final residence in New York, he gave freedom to his slaves. Instead of turning them to the highest profit, he made provision for the old and infirm, while several of them testified their attachment to him by remaining in his family. In the characteristic virtue of planters, hospitality, Gates had no competitor, and his reputation may well be supposed to put that virtue to a hard test. He purchased, in the neighbourhood of New York, a spacious house, with valuable ground, for the life of himself and his wife, and here, with few exceptions, he remained for the rest of his life.

No wonder that the military leaders in the revolution, should aspire to the enjoyment of its civil honours afterwards. The war was too short to create a race of mere soldiers. The merchants and lawyers who entered the army, became merchants and lawyers again, and had lost none of their primitive qualifications for administering the civil government. Gates, however, was a singular example among the officers of high rank. His

original profession was a soldier, and disabled him from acquiring the capacity suitable to the mere magistrate and senator. During twenty-three years, he was only for a short time in a public body. In the year 1800, he was elected to the New York legislature, in consequence of a critical balance of the parties in that state, and withdrew again into private life, as soon as the purpose for which he was elected was gained.

General Gates was a whig in England and a republican in America. His political opinions did not separate him from many respectable citizens, whose views differed widely from his own.

He had a handsome person, tending to corpulence, in the middle of life; remarkably courteous to all; and carrying good humour sometimes beyond the limits of dignity. He is said to have received a classical education, and not to have entirely neglected that advantage in after life. To science, literature, or erudition, however, he made no pretensions; but gave indisputable marks of a social, amiable and benevolent disposition.

He died, without posterity, at his customary abode, near New York, on the 10th of April, 1806, after having counted a long series of 78 years.

GREENE, NATHANIEL, a major general in the army of the United States, and one of the most distinguished officers in the revolutionary war, was born in the town of Warwick, in Rhode Island, in the year 1741. His parents were Quakers. His father was a respectable anchor-smith. Being intended for the business which his father pursued, young Greene received nothing but a common English education. But, to himself, an acquisition so humble and limited, was unsatisfactory and mortifying. While he was a boy he learned the Latin language chiefly by his own industry. Having procured, in part by his own economy, a small library, he spent his evenings, and all the time he

could redeem from business, in regular study. He read with a view to general improvement; but military history occupied a considerable share of his attention, and constituted his delight.

He embarked in his father's line of business, and in the regular pursuit of it employed a considerable portion of his time, until he was elevated, at an unusually early age, to a seat in the legislature of his native colony. In this situation, the commencement of the revolutionary war found him; and, the undisguised part which he took in promoting an appeal to arms, caused him to be dismissed from the society of friends, of which he had antecedently been a member.

He began his military career as a private in a military association, of which he was the principal promoter, and which was chartered under the name of the *Kentish Guards*, and commanded by general James M. Varnum. But in the year 1775, Rhode-Island having raised three regiments of militia, amounting in the whole to about 1600, and officered by some of her most distinguished inhabitants, she placed them under the command of Mr. Greene, with the rank of brigadier general, who, without loss of time, conducted them to headquarters, in the village of Cambridge.

Here, having, by a single act of promotion, after a noviciate of about seven months, exchanged the rank of a private, for that of a general officer, he soon distinguished himself, in his present station, and offered to others, a most salutary example. This he did in a very special manner, and, with the happiest effect, by his prompt obedience to the commands of his superiors, at a time, when that subordination, which alone can render an army efficient and powerful, was not yet established; by habits of strict and laborious attention, in the regular study of the military science; and by the excellent discipline, which he caused to be introduced into his own brigade.

General Greene's merit and abilities, as well in the council as in the field, were not long unnoticed by general Washington, who reposed in him the utmost confidence, and paid a particular deference to his advice and opinion, on all occasions of doubt and difficulty.

He was appointed major general by congress, the 26th of August, 1776. Towards the close of that year, he was at the Trenton surprise; and, at the beginning of the next, was at the battle of Princeton, two enterprises not more happily planned than judiciously and bravely executed, in both of which he highly distinguished himself, serving his noviciate under the American Fabius.

At the battle of Germantown, he commanded the left wing of the American army; and his utmost endeavours were exerted to retrieve the fortune of that day, in which his conduct met with the approbation of the commander in chief.

In March, 1778, he was appointed quarter-master-general, which office he accepted under a stipulation, that his rank in the army should not be affected by it, and that he should retain his right to command, in time of action, according to his rank and seniority. This he exercised at the battle of Monmouth, where he commanded the right wing of the army.

About the middle of the same year, an attack being planned by the Americans, in conjunction with the French fleet, on the British garrison at Newport, Rhode-Island, general Sullivan was appointed to the command, under whom general Greene served. This attempt was unsuccessful; the French fleet having sailed out of harbour, to engage lord Howe's fleet, they were dispersed by a storm, and the Americans were obliged to raise the siege of Newport, in doing which, general Greene displayed a great degree of skill, in drawing off the army in safety.

After the hopes of the British generals, to execute some decisive stroke to the northward were frustrated, they turned their attention to the southern states, as less capable of defence, and more likely to reward the invaders with ample plunder. A grand expedition was, in consequence, planned at New-York, where the army embarked on the 26th of December, 1779: they landed on the 11th of February, 1780, within about thirty miles of Charleston, which, after a brave defence, was surrendered to sir Henry Clinton, on the 12th of May.

A series of ill success followed this unfortunate event. The American arms in South Carolina, were, in general, unsuccessful; and the inhabitants were obliged to submit to the invaders, whose impolitic severity was extremely ill calculated to answer any of the objects for which the war had been commenced.

Affairs were thus circumstanced, when general Washington appointed general Greene to the command of the American forces in the southern district. He arrived at Charlotte on the 2d day of December, 1780, accompanied by general Morgan, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself to the northward, in the expedition against Burgoyne. He found the forces he was to command, reduced to a very small number, by defeat and by desertion. The returns were nine hundred and seventy continentals, and one thousand and thirteen militia. Military stores, provisions, forage, and all things necessary, were, if possible, in a more reduced state than his army. His men were without pay, and almost without clothing: and supplies of the latter were not to be had, but from a distance of two hundred miles. In this perilous and embarrassed situation, he had to oppose a respectable and victorious army. Fortunately for him, the conduct of some of the friends of royalty

obliged numbers, otherwise disposed to remain neuter, to take up arms in their own defence. This, and the prudent measures the general took for removing the innumerable difficulties and disadvantages he was surrounded with, and for conciliating the affections of the inhabitants, soon brought together a considerable force; far inferior, however, to that of the British, who deemed the country perfectly subjugated.

After he had recruited his forces with all the friends to the revolution that he could assemble, he sent a considerable detachment, under general Morgan, to the western extremities of the state, to protect the well-disposed inhabitants from the ravages of the tories. This force, which was the first that had for a considerable time appeared there, on the side of the Americans, inspired the friends of liberty with new courage, so that numbers of them crowded to the standard of general Morgan, who, at length, became so formidable, that lord Cornwallis thought proper to send colonel Tarleton, to dislodge him from the station he had taken. This officer was at the head of a thousand regular troops, and had two field pieces. He came up, on the seventeenth of January, 1781, at a place called Cowpens, with general Morgan, whose force was much inferior, and was composed of two-thirds militia, and one-third continentals. An engagement was the immediate consequence.

Morgan gained a complete victory over an officer, the rapidity and success of whose attacks, until that time, might have entitled him to make use of the declaration of Cæsar, "*veni, vidi, vici.*" Upwards of five hundred of the British laid down their arms, and were made prisoners; a very considerable number were killed. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field pieces, and thirty-five baggage-waggons fell to the victors, who had only twelve killed and sixty wounded.

This brilliant success quite disconcerted the plan of operations formed by lord Cornwallis. Having entertained no idea of any enemy to oppose in South Carolina, the conquest of which he deemed complete, he had made every preparation for carrying his arms to the northward, to gather the laurels which, he imagined, awaited him. He now found himself obliged to postpone this design. He marched with rapidity after general Morgan, in hopes not only to recover the prisoners, but to revenge Tarleton's losses. The American general, by a rapidity of movements, and the interference of Providence, eluded his efforts; and general Greene effected a junction of the two divisions of his little army, on the 7th of February. Still he was so far inferior to lord Cornwallis, that he was obliged to retreat northward; and, notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of his enemy, he brought his men in safety into Virginia.

In Virginia, general Greene received some reinforcements, and had the promise of more; on which he returned again into North Carolina, where, on their arrival, he hoped to be able to act on the offensive. He encamped in the vicinity of lord Cornwallis's army. By a variety of the best concerted manœuvres, he so judiciously supported the arrangement of his troops, by the secrecy and promptitude of his motions, that, during three weeks, while the enemy remained near him, he prevented them from taking any advantage of their superiority; and even cut off all opportunity of the irreceiving succours from the royalsits.

About the beginning of March, he effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two considerable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He then determined on attacking the British commander without loss of time, "being persuaded," as he declared in his subsequent dispatches, "that, if he was successful, it would prove

ruinous to the enemy; and, if otherwise, that it would be but a partial evil to him." On the 14th, he arrived at Guilford court-house, the British then lying at twelve miles distance.

His army consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, of whom near two-thirds were North Carolina and Virginia militia. The British were about two thousand four hundred; all regular troops, and the greater part inured to toil and service in their long expedition under lord Cornwallis, who, on the morning of the 15th, being apprised of general Greene's intentions, marched to meet him. The latter disposed his army in three lines; the militia of North Carolina were in front; the second line was composed of those of Virginia; and the third, which was the flower of the army, was formed of continental troops, near fifteen hundred in number. They were flanked on both sides by cavalry and riflemen, and were posted on a rising ground, a mile and a half from Guilford court-house.

The engagement commenced at half an hour after one o'clock, by a brisk cannonade; after which, the British advanced in three columns; and attacked the first line, composed of North Carolina militia. These, who, probably, had never been in action before, were panic struck at the approach of the enemy; and many of them ran away without firing a gun, or being fired upon, and even before the British had come nearer than one hundred and forty yards to them. Part of them, however, fired; but they then followed the example of their comrades. Their officers made every possible effort to rally them: but the advantages of their position, nor any other consideration, could induce them to maintain their ground. This shameful conduct had a great effect upon the issue of the battle. The next line, however, behaved much better. They fought with great bravery; and were thrown into

R

disorder; rallied, returned to the charge, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but were at length broken, and driven on the third line, when the engagement became general, very severe, and very bloody. At length, superiority of discipline carried the day from superiority of numbers. The conflict endured an hour and a half; and was terminated by general Greene's ordering a retreat, when he perceived that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops.

This was a hard fought action. Lord Cornwallis stated his losses in killed, wounded, and missing, at five hundred and thirty-two, among whom were several officers of considerable rank. But this battle was, nevertheless, decisive in its consequences. Lord Cornwallis was, three days after, obliged to make a retrograde motion; and to return to Wilmington, situated two hundred miles from the scene of action. He was even under the necessity of abandoning a considerable number of those who were dangerously wounded. The loss of the Americans was about four hundred, killed and wounded.

Some time after the battle of Guilford, general Greene determined to return to South Carolina, to endeavour to expel the British from that state.—His first object was to attempt the reduction of Camden, where lord Rawdon was posted with about nine hundred men. The strength of this place, which was covered on the south and east side by a river and creek; and to the westward and northward, by six redoubts; rendered it impracticable to carry it by storm, with the small army general Greene had, consisting of about seven hundred continentals, the militia having gone home. He, therefore, encamped at about a mile from the town, in order to prevent supplies from being brought in, and to take advantages of such favourable circumstances as might occur.

Lord Rawdon's situation was extremely delicate. Colonel Watson, whom he had some time before detached, for the protection of the eastern frontiers, and to whom he had, on intelligence of general Greene's intentions, sent orders to return to Camden, was so effectually watched by general Marion, that it was impossible for him to obey. His lordship's supplies were, moreover, very precarious; and should general Greene's reinforcements arrive, he might be so closely invested, as to be at length obliged to surrender. In this dilemma, the best expedient that suggested itself, was a bold attack; for which purpose, he armed every person with him capable of carrying a musket, not excepting his musicians and drummers. He sallied out on the 25th of April, and attacked general Greene in his camp. The defence was obstinate; and for some part of the engagement the advantage appeared to be in favour of America. Lieutenant colonel Washington, who commanded the cavalry, had at one time not less than two hundred British prisoners. However, by the misconduct of one of the American regiments, victory was snatched from general Greene, who was compelled to retreat. He lost in the action about two hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners. Rawdon lost about two hundred and fifty eight.

There was a great similarity between the consequences of the affair at Guilford, and those of this action. In the former, lord Cornwallis was successful; but was afterwards obliged to retreat two hundred miles from the scene of action, and for a time abandoned the grand object of penetrating to the northward. In the latter, lord Rawdon had the honour of the field; but was shortly after reduced to the necessity of abandoning his post, and leaving behind him a number of sick and wounded.

The evacuation of Camden, with the vigilance of general Greene, and the several officers he em-

ployed, gave a new complexion to affairs in South Carolina, where the British ascendancy declined more rapidly than it had been established: The numerous forts, garrisoned by the enemy, fell, one after the other, into the hands of the Americans. Orangeburg, Motte, Watson, Georgetown, Granby, and others, fort Ninety-Six excepted, were surrendered; and a very considerable number of prisoners of war, with military stores and artillery, were found in them.

On the 22d May, general Greene sat down before Ninety-Six, with the main part of his little army. The siege was carried on for a considerable time with great spirit; and the place was defended with equal bravery. At length, the works were so far reduced, that a surrender must have been made in a few days, when a reinforcement of three regiments, from Europe, arrived at Charleston, which enabled lord Rawdon to proceed to relieve this important post. The superiority of the enemy's force reduced general Greene to the alternative of abandoning the siege altogether, or, previous to their arrival, of attempting the fort by storm. The latter was more agreeable to his enterprising spirit: and an attack was made, on the morning of the 19th of June. He was repulsed, with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. He raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda.

Dr. Ramsay, speaking of the state of affairs about this period, says, "truly distressing was the situation of the American army: when in the grasp of victory, to be obliged to expose themselves to a hazardous assault, and afterwards to abandon a siege. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity; and after subduing the greatest part of the force sent against them, to be under the necessity of encountering still greater reinforcements, when their remote situation precluded them from the

hope of receiving a single recruit. In this gloomy situation, there were not wanting persons who advised general Greene to leave the state, and retire with his remaining forces to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, 'I will recover the country, or die in the attempt.' This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those extremities, when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only resource now left him, of avoiding an engagement, until the British force should be divided."

Some skirmishes, of no great moment, took place between the detached parties of both armies in July and August. September the 9th, general Greene having assembled about two thousand men, proceeded to attack the British, who, under the command of colonel Stewart, were posted at Eutaw Springs. The American force was drawn up in two lines: the first, composed of Carolina militia, was commanded by generals Marion and Pickens, and colonel de Malmedy. The second, which consisted of continental troops, from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, was commanded by general Sumpter, lieutenant colonel Campbell, and colonel Williams: lieutenant colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; and lieutenant colonel Henderson, with the state troops, covered the left. A corps de reserve was formed of the cavalry, under lieutenant colonel Washington, and the Delaware troops under captain Kirkwood. As the Americans came forward to the attack, they fell in with some advanced parties of the enemy, at about two or three miles a head of the main body. These being closely pursued, were driven back, and the action soon became general. The militia were at length forced to give way, but were bravely supported by the second line. In the hottest part of the engagement, general Greene ordered the Maryland and Virginia continentals, to charge with

trailed arms. This decided the fate of the day. "Nothing," says Dr. Ramsay, "could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musquetry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them." The British were broken, closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred of them taken prisoners. They, however, made a fresh stand, in a favourable position, in impenetrable shrubs and a picquetted garden. Lieutenant colonel Washington, after having made every effort to dislodge them, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six pounders were brought forward to play upon them, but they fell into their hands; and the endeavours to drive them from their station, being found impracticable, the Americans retired, leaving a very strong picquet on the field of battle. Their loss was about five hundred; that of the British upwards of eleven hundred.

General Greene was honoured by congress with a British standard, and a gold medal, emblematical of the engagement, "for his wise, decisive, and magnanimous conduct, in the action at Eutaw Springs, in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory."

In the evening of the succeeding day, colonel Stewart abandoned his post, and retreated towards Charleston, leaving behind upwards of seventy of his wounded, and a thousand stand of arms. He was pursued a considerable distance, but in vain.

The battle of Eutaw produced most signal consequences in favour of America. The British, who had for such a length of time lorded it absolutely in South Carolina, were, shortly after that event, obliged to confine themselves in Charleston, whence they never ventured but to make predatory excursions, with bodies of cavalry, which in

general, met with a very warm and very unwelcome reception.

In Dr. Caldwell's memoirs of the life of general Greene, we have the following interesting story, as connected with the severe conflict at Eutaw Springs:

"Two young officers, bearing the same rank, met in personal combat. The American, perceiving that the Briton had a decided superiority, in the use of the sabre, and being himself of great activity, and personal strength, almost gigantic, closed with his adversary and made him his prisoner.

"Gentlemanly, generous, and high minded, this event, added to a personal resemblance which they were observed to bear to each other, produced between these two youthful warriors, an intimacy, which, increased in a short time, to a mutual attachment.

"Not long after the action, the American officer returning home, on furlough, to settle some private business, obtained permission for his friend to accompany him.

"Travelling without attendants or guard, they were both armed and well mounted. Part of their route lay through a settlement highly disaffected to the American cause.

"When in the midst of this, having, in consequence of a shower of rain, thrown around them their cloaks, which concealed their uniforms, they were suddenly encountered by a detachment of Tories.

"The young American, determined to die rather than become a prisoner, especially to men whom he held in abhorrence for disloyalty to their country, and the generous Briton resolved not to survive one by whom he had been distinguished and treated so kindly, they both together, with great spirit and self possession, charged the royalists,

having first made signals in their rear, as if directing others to follow them; and thus, without injury on either side, had the address and good fortune to put the party to flight.

"Arriving in safety at their place of destination, what was their surprise and augmented satisfaction, on finding, from some questions proposed by the American officer's father, that they were first cousins!

"With increasing delight, the young Briton passed several weeks in the family of his kinsman, where the writer of this narrative saw him daily, and often listened, with the rapture of a child, to the checkered story of his military adventures.

"To heighten the occurrence, and render it more romantic, the American officer had a sister, beautiful and accomplished, whose heart soon felt for the gallant stranger, more than the affection due to a cousin. The attachment was mutual.

"But here the adventure assumes a tragical cast. The youthful foreigner, being exchanged, was summoned to return to his regiment. The message was fatal to his peace. But military honour demanded the sacrifice; and the lady, generous and high minded as himself, would not be instrumental in dimming his laurels.

"The parting scene was a high-wrought picture of tenderness and sorrow. On taking leave, the parties mutually bound themselves, by a solemn promise, to remain single a certain number of years, in the hope that an arrangement contemplated might again bring them together. A few weeks afterwards the lady expired under an attack of small pox. The fate the officer we never learnt."

It has already been mentioned that Greene's army was in a deplorable situation, and suffered under every privation. In his letters to the Secretary at war, he says, "We have three hundred men without arms, and more than one thousand so-

naked, that they can be put on duty only in cases of a desperate nature. We have been all winter in want of arms and clothing. The subsistence of the army is wretched, and we are without rum or any kind of spirits."

Again, he says, "Our difficulties are so numerous, and our wants so pressing, that I have not a moment's relief from the most painful anxieties. I have more embarrassment than it is proper to disclose to the world. Let it suffice to say that this part of the United States has had a narrow escape. *I have been seven months in the field without taking off my clothes.*"

Judge Johnson, in his life of general Greene, says "At the battle of the Eutaw Springs, Greene says; 'that hundreds of my men were as naked as they were born.' Posterity will scarcely believe, that the bare loins of many brave men who carried death into the enemy's ranks, at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch-boxes, while a folded rag or a tuft of moss protected the shoulders from sustaining the same injury from the musket. Men of other times will enquire, by what magic was this army kept together? By what supernatural power was it made to fight?"

During the relaxation that followed, a dangerous plot was formed by some turbulent and mutinous persons in the army, to deliver up their brave general to the British. This treasonable design owed its rise to the hardships, wants and calamities of the soldiers, who were ill paid, ill clothed, and ill fed. The conspirators did not exceed twelve in number; and a providential discovery defeated the project.

The surrender of lord Cornwallis, whose enterprising spirit had been by the British ministry expected to repair the losses, and wipe away the disgrace, which had been incurred through the inactivity and indolence of other generals, having con-

vinced them of the impracticability of subjugating America, they discontinued offensive operations in every quarter. From the beginning of the year 1782, it was currently reported that Charleston was speedily to be evacuated: it was officially announced the 7th of August; but it did not take place until the 17th of December.

The happy period at length arrived, when, by the virtue and bravery of her sons, aided by the bounty of heaven, America compelled her invaders to recognise her independence. Then her armies quitted the tented fields, and retired to cultivate the arts of peace and happiness. Amongst the rest, general Greene, revisited his native country, where he proved himself as valuable a citizen, as the Carolinas had witnessed him a gallant officer.

We have mentioned Judge Johnson's life of general Greene. This work is in two volumes quarto, and gives a particular account of the transactions, and indeed of the campaigns, &c. of the war in the southern states, by William Johnson, Esq. of South Carolina, and one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. At the conclusion of the work he makes the following just remarks, which we copy with much pleasure, particularly for our school edition:

"We will now dismiss the reader with these remarks. *To the young* and the lowly, the incidents of general Greene's life, hold out a most valuable moral. They show, with certainty, that there is no condition which may not be improved by virtue and perseverance; that the acquirement of knowledge leads directly to eminence; and, that the most persevering labour is not inconsistent with the improvement of the mind, when the mind is steadily bent upon its own improvement. And let no discouraging inferences be drawn from the persecutions which he underwent from envy and detraction. They will fasten on eminence; and to

quote the general's own language, "every one but an idiot will have enemies." These are among the trials incident to human life; and they will attack those most severely, who raise themselves from obscurity. Men cannot bear mortifying comparisons; and, therefore, envy those most, who have risen from among themselves. But, it is a most consoling evidence that truth will never be abandoned; that after such a lapse of time, we find the fame of this great and good man, vindicated by the production of evidence which cannot be resisted. The plain inference is, that we do our duty, and trust to Providence for the rest.

"To all, we will take the liberty to suggest another remark. It is related of general Washington, that after the defeat of Braddock, an eminent divine declared from the pulpit, 'that Heaven had preserved that young man for some great and wise purposes.'

"If we contemplate the early events of general Greene's life, we perceive in them, a striking aptness of preparation for the part he was destined to act in the revolutionary contest. Subdued, but not broken down under parental authority, he learned obedience and discipline, and how to enforce it on others; but, above all, self-command. Cast on himself for the gratification of every wish of his heart, he learned that great lesson of self-dependence, which he had, so often afterwards, to bring into exercise. With nerves strung to labour, he was prepared for all the fatigues and hardships of war; and habits of temperance taught him to bear, and by his example, to teach others to bear, all privations of war. Yet, all this preparation was casual, and less than all things, intended to fit him for a military life!

"Nor was his moral and religious education less adapted to the part he was to act on the theatre of the revolution. The religion of the Quakers,

stripped of those tenets which unfit it for this nether world, is really the political religion of the United States. Universal benevolence, and unbounded toleration, were their favourite doctrines. He still continued a Quaker, as far the religion of the Quakers comported with the defence of civil liberty; and thus blended the soldier, with all that stern morality, and simplicity of character, which distinguish the sect he belonged to."

In October, 1785, general Greene sailed to Georgia, where he had a considerable estate, not far distant from Savannah. Here he passed away his time, occupied in his domestic concerns, until the hour of his mortality approached.

Walking out, without his hat, in the afternoon of the 15th of June, 1786, the day being intensely hot, he was suddenly attacked with such a vertigo and prostration of strength, as to be unable to return to his house, without assistance. The affection was what is denominated a "stroke of the sun." It was succeeded by fever, accompanied with stupor, delirium, and a disordered stomach. All efforts to subdue it proved fruitless, and it carried him off on the 19th of the same month.

When the melancholy account of his death arrived at Savannah, the people were struck with the deepest sorrow. All business was suspended.—The shops and stores throughout the town were shut; and the shipping in the harbour had their colours half-masted.

The body was brought to Savannah, and interred on the 20th. The funeral procession was attended by the Cincinnati, militia, &c. &c.

Immediately after the interment of the corpse, the members of the Cincinnati retired to the coffee-house in Savannah, and came to the following resolution:

"That, as a token of the high respect and veneration in which this society hold the memory of

their late illustrious brother, major-general Greene, deceased, George Washington Greene, his eldest son, be admitted a member of this society, to take his seat on his arriving at the age of 18 years."

General Greene left behind him a wife and five children.

On Tuesday the 12th of August, 1786, the United States in congress assembled, came to the following resolution:

"That a monument be erected to the memory of Nathaniel Greene, Esq. at the seat of the federal government, with the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of
NATHANIEL GREENE, Esq.

Who departed this life,

On the 19th of June, MDCCLXXXVI:

LATE MAJOR GENERAL

In the service of the United States,

And commander of their army

In the southern department.

The United States, in Congress assembled,

In honor of his

Patriotism, valour, and ability,

Have erected this monument.

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, first secretary of the treasury of the United States, was a native of the island of St. Croix, and was born in 1757.—His father was the younger son of an English family, and his mother was an American. At the age of sixteen, he accompanied his mother to New-York, and entered a student of Columbia college, in which he continued about three years. While a member of this institution, the first buddings of his intellect gave presages of his future eminence.—The contest with Great Britain called forth the first talents on each side, and his juvenile pen asserted the claims of the colonies against very respectable writers. His papers exhibited such evi-

dence of intellect and wisdom, that they were ascribed to Mr. Jay, and when the truth was discovered, America saw with astonishment a lad of seventeen in the list of her able advocates. At the age of eighteen, he entered the American army as an officer of artillery. The first sound of war awakened his martial spirit, and as a soldier he soon conciliated the regard of his brethren in arms. It was not long before he attracted the notice of Washington, who, in 1777, selected him as an aid with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. His sound understanding, comprehensive views, application and promptitude, soon gained him the entire confidence of his patron. In such a school it was impossible but that his genius should be nourished. By intercourse with Washington, by surveying his plans, observing his consummate prudence, and by a minute inspection of the springs of national operations, he became fitted for command. Throughout the campaign, which terminated in the capture of Cornwallis, colonel Hamilton commanded a battalion of light infantry. At the siege of York in 1781, when the second parallel was opened, two redoubts, which flanked it, and were advanced 300 yards in front of the British works, very much annoyed the men in the trenches. It was resolved to possess them, and to prevent jealousies the attack of the one was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. The detachment of the Americans, was commanded by the marquis de la Fayette; and colonel Hamilton, at his own earnest request, led the advanced corps, consisting of two battalions. Towards the close of the day, on the 14th of October, the troops rushed to the charge without firing a single gun. The works were assaulted with irresistible impetuosity, and carried with but little loss. Eight of the enemy fell in the action; but notwithstanding the irritation lately produced by the infamous slaughter in

fort Griswold, not a man was killed who ceased to resist.

Soon after the capture of Cornwallis, Hamilton sheathed his sword, and being encumbered with a family, and destitute of funds, at the age of twenty-five applied to the study of the law. In this profession he soon rose to distinction. But his private pursuits could not detach him from regard to the public welfare. The violence which was meditated against the property and persons of all who remained in the city during the war, called forth his generous exertions. and, by the aid of governor Clinton, the faithless and revengeful scheme was defeated. In a few years a more important affair demanded his talents. After witnessing the debility of the confederation, he was fully impressed with the necessity of an efficient general government, and he was appointed in 1787, a member of the federal convention of New York. He assisted in forming the constitution of our country. It did not indeed completely meet his wishes. He was afraid that it did not contain sufficient means of strength for its own preservation, and that, in consequence, we should share the fate of many other republics, and pass through anarchy to despotism. He was in favour of a more permanent executive and senate. He wished for a strong government, which would not be shaken by the conflict of different interests through an extensive territory, and which should be adequate to all the forms of national exigency.

By his pen in the papers signed Publius, and by his voice in the convention of New York, he contributed much to its adoption. When the government was organized in 1789, Washington placed him at the head of the treasury. In the new demands, which were now made upon his talents, the resources of his mind did not fail him. In his reports, he proposed plans for funding the debt of

the union, and for assuming the debts of the respective states; for establishing a bank and mint; and for procuring a revenue. He wished to redeem the reputation of his country by satisfying her creditors, and to combine with the government such a monied interest, as might facilitate its operations.

He remained but a short time afterwards in office. As his property had been wasted in the public service, the care of a rising family made it his duty to retire, that by renewed exertions in his profession, he might provide for their support.—He accordingly resigned his office on the last of January, 1795.

When the provisional army was raised in 1798, Washington qualified his acceptance of the command of it, with the condition that Hamilton should be his associate and the second in command. This arrangement was accordingly made.

Invested with the rank of inspector general, Hamilton repaired immediately to his post, and commenced the organization and discipline of his army. These he carried in a short time to high perfection, the materials of his command being excellent in quality. His hours of leisure he devoted, with his usual industry, to the study of chemistry, mathematics, and the art of war. In the two latter his attainments became great. To render him conspicuous among the ablest captains of the world, nothing was now wanting but experience in the field.

After the adjustment of our dispute with the French Republic, and the discharge of the army, he returned again to his profession in the city of New York.

In June, 1804, colonel Burr, vice-president of the United States, addressed a letter to general Hamilton, requiring his acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expression derogatory to the hon-

our of the former. This demand was deemed inadmissible, and a duel was the consequence. After the close of the circuit court, the parties met at Hoboken, on the morning of Wednesday, July the 11th, and Hamilton fell on the same spot, where his son a few years before had fallen, in obedience to the same principle of honour, and in the same violation of the laws of God, and of man. He was carried into the city, and being desirous of receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper, he immediately sent for the reverend Dr. Mason. As the principles of his church prohibited him from administering the ordinance in private, this minister of the gospel informed general Hamilton, that the sacrament was an exhibition and pledge of the mercies, which the Son of God has purchased, and that the absence of the sign did not exclude from the mercies signified, which were accessible to him by faith in their gracious Author. He replied, "I am aware of that. It is only as a sign that I wanted it." In the conversation which ensued, he disavowed all intention of taking the life of colonel Burr, and declared his abhorrence of the whole transaction. When the sin, of which he had been guilty, was intimated to him, he assented with strong emotion; and when the infinite merit of the Redeemer, as the propitiation for sin, the sole ground of our acceptance with God, was suggested, he said with emphasis, "*I have* a tender reliance on the mercy of the Almighty, through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ." The reverend bishop Moore was afterwards sent for, and after making suitable inquiries of the penitence and faith of general Hamilton, and receiving his assurance that he would never again, if restored to health, be engaged in a similar transaction, but would employ all his influence in society to discountenance the barbarous custom, administered to him the communion. After this his mind was

composed. He expired about 2 o'clock on Thursday, July 12, 1804. aged about 47 years.

General Hamilton possessed very uncommon powers of mind. To whatever subject he directed his attention, he was able to grasp it; and in whatever he engaged, in that he excelled. So stupendous were his talents, and so patient was his industry, that no investigation presented difficulties, which he could not conquer. In the class of men of intellect, he held the first rank. His eloquence was of the most interesting kind, and when new exertions were required, he rose in new strength, and touching at his pleasure every string of pity or of terror, of indignation or grief, he bent the passions of others to his purpose. At the bar he gained the first eminence.

The versatility of his powers was as wonderful as their strength. To the transaction of all matters that were ever submitted to him, he showed himself competent; on every point of difficulty and moment, he was qualified to become great. What others learnt by experience, he saw by intuition; what they achieved by persevering labour, he could accomplish by a single exertion. Hence the diversified eminence of his attainments, and the surprising rapidity with which he rendered himself master, not only of new and intricate points, but even of entire branches of science.

Within the sphere of our own knowledge, or in the records of society, it is usual to find individuals who are highly distinguished in particular walks: in the forum, the senate, the cabinet, or the field; but a single character pre-eminent in them all, constitutes a prodigy of human greatness. Yet such a character was the personage we are considering. He combined within himself qualities that would have communicated lustre to many. At the bar, his ability and eloquence were at once the delight and astonishment of his country; as a

statesman, his powers were transcendent and his resources inexhaustible; as a financier, he was acknowledged to be without a rival; in his talents for war, he was believed to be inferior to Washington alone. To these we may add, that in his qualifications as a writer he was eminently great. Endowments so brilliant, with attainments so wide, multifarious and lofty, have but rarely fallen to the portion of a mortal.

Yet with these he had none of the eccentricities, irregularities, or vices, that oftentimes follow in the train of greatness. His mind and his habits were in a high degree orderly, temperate and methodical. To his powers alone, stupendous as they were, he never committed the performance of his duty, on any occasion of interest and importance. Preparatory to acting, he bestowed on his subject all the attention that would have been requisite in a man of common abilities. He studied it patiently till he thoroughly comprehended it. Hence, even in the minutest details, he was never found deficient when he was expected to be prepared. To his moral habits, therefore, no less than to his physical powers, he owed it, in part, that he was consummately great.

With all his pre-eminence of talents, and amiable as he was in private life, general Hamilton is yet a melancholy proof of the influence, which intercourse with a depraved world has in perverting the judgment. In principle he was opposed to duelling, his conscience was not hardened, and he was not indifferent to the happiness of his wife and children; but no consideration was strong enough to prevent him from exposing his life in single combat. His own views of usefulness were followed in contrariety to the injunctions of his Maker and Judge. He had been for some time convinced of the truth of Christianity, and it was his intention, if his life had been spared, to have written a work upon its evidences.

General Hamilton possessed many friends, and he was endeared to them, for he was gentle, tender, and benevolent. While he was great in the eyes of the world, familiarity with him only increased the regard in which he was held. In his person he was small and short in stature. He married a daughter of general Schuyler, and left an afflicted widow and a number of children to mourn his loss.

“Such was Hamilton; the soldier of the revolution; the confidant of Washington; the founder of the American system of finance; the enlightened statesman; the great counsellor; the eloquent orator; and the man of probity tried and spotless. He retired poor from an office, which, without speculation or any act that would have amounted to a breach of trust, might have rendered him as distinguished for wealth, as he was for the higher riches of his mind. His faults; for being human he had faults: are lost amidst his virtues, excused, or forgotten.”

• **HANCOCK, JOHN**, a distinguished patriot and friend of his country, was born in the year 1737, in the province of Massachusetts. The habitation of his father, which is represented as the precise place of his nativity, was situated near the village of Quincy, and by the ordinary transitions of property in America, is now annexed to the patrimony of John Adams, former president of the United States. In this neighbourhood were born and died, for many generations, the ancestors of the illustrious Samuel Adams. He graduated at Harvard college in 1754. On the death of his uncle, Thomas Hancock, Esquire, he received a very considerable fortune, and soon became an eminent merchant. He was, for several years, selectman of the town: and in 1766, he was chosen a member of the house of representatives for Boston. He there blazed a whig of the first magni-

tude. Otis, Cushing, and Samuel Adams, were the other three, who represented the capital, men of name in the revolution of their country. Being fond of public notice, he was flattered by the approbation of the people, with their marks of confidence, and the distinction he had in the general court. The political sagacity of Adams, the public spirit and patriotic zeal of Hancock, gave a lustre to the Boston seat. Of these two popular leaders, the manners and appearance were in direct opposition, notwithstanding the conformity of their political principles, and their equal devotion to the liberties and independence of their country; and this dissimilarity tended, no doubt, to aggravate the passions and animosities of their adherents. Mr. Adams was poor, and in his dress and manners, simple and unadorned. Hancock, on the other hand, was numbered with the richest individuals of his country. His equipage was splendid and magnificent; and such as at present is unknown in America. His apparel, was sumptuously embroidered with gold and silver and lace, and all the other decorations fashionable amongst men of fortune of that day; he rode, especially upon public occasions, with six beautiful bays, and with servants in livery. He was graceful and prepossessing in manners, and very passionately addicted to what are called the elegant pleasures of life, to dancing, music, concerts, routs, assemblies, card parties, rich wines, social dinners and festivities; all which the stern republican virtues of Mr. Adams regarded with indifference, if not with contempt.

On the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, a small party of the British soldiers paraded, and being assailed by a tumultory assemblage of the people, with balls of snow and other weapons, fired upon them by the order of their officer, to disperse them. Upon which occasion several of

the crowd were wounded and a few were killed. This affray is usually termed "the massacre of Boston."

It was in commemoration of this event, Mr. Hancock delivered an oration, in 1774, from which we extract the following:

"I have always, from my earliest youth, rejoiced in the felicity of my fellow-men, and have ever considered it as the indispensable duty of every member of society to promote, as far as in him lies, the prosperity of every individual, but more especially of the community to which he belongs; and also, as a faithful subject of the state, to use his utmost endeavours to detect, and having detected, strenuously to oppose every traitorous plot which its enemies may devise for its destruction. Security to the persons and properties of the governed, is so obviously the design and end of civil government, that to attempt a logical proof of it, would be like burning tapers at noonday, to assist the sun in enlightening the world; and it cannot be virtuous or honourable, to attempt to support a government, of which this is not the great and principal basis; and it is to the last degree vicious and infamous to attempt to support a government, which manifestly tends to render the persons and properties of the governed insecure. Some boast of being *friends to government*; I am a friend to *righteous government*, to a government founded upon the principles of reason and justice; but I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to tyranny. Is the present system, which the British administration have adopted for the government of the colonies, a righteous government? or is it tyranny? Here suffer me to ask (and would to Heaven there could be an answer) what tenderness, what regard, respect or consideration, has Great Britain shewn, in their late transactions, for the security of the persons or properties

of the inhabitants of the colonies? or rather, what have they omitted doing to destroy that security? They have declared that they have ever had, and of right ought ever to have, full power to make laws of sufficient validity, to bind the colonies in all cases whatever: they have exercised this pretended right by imposing a tax upon us without our consent; and lest we should shew some reluctance at parting with our property, her fleets and armies are sent to enforce their mad pretensions. The town of Boston, ever faithful to the British crown, has been invested by a British fleet: the troops of George the III. have crossed the wide Atlantic, not to engage an enemy, but to assist a band of traitors in trampling on the rights and liberties of his most loyal subjects in America; those rights and liberties which, as a father, he ought ever to regard, and as a king, he is bound, in honor, to defend from violations, even at the risk of his own life.

“But I forbear, and come reluctantly to the transactions of that dismal night, when in such quick succession we felt the extremes of grief, astonishment and rage; when Heaven, in anger, for a dreadful moment, suffered hell to take the reins; when Satan, with ~~the blood of~~ England's blood, and sacrilegiously polluted our land with the dead bodies of her guiltless sons. Let this sad tale of death never be told without a tear: let not the heaving bosom cease to burn with manly indignation at the barbarous story, through the long tracts of future time: let every parent tell the shameful story to his listening children till tears of pity glisten in their eyes, and boiling passions shake their tender frames; and whilst the anniversary of that ill-fated night is kept a jubilee in the grim court of pandæmonium, let all America join in one common prayer to Heaven, that the inhuman unprovoked

murders of the fifth of March, 1770, planned by Hillsborough, and a knot of treacherous knaves in Boston, and executed by the cruel hand of Preston and his sanguinary coadjutors, may ever stand on history without a parallel. But what, my countrymen, withheld the ready arm of vengeance from executing instant justice on the vile assassins? Perhaps you feared promiscuous carnage might ensue, and that the innocent might share the fate of those who had performed the infernal deed. But were not all guilty? where you not too tender of the lives of those who came to fix a yoke on your necks? but I must not too severely blame a fault, which great souls only can commit. May that magnificence of spirit which scorns the low pursuits of malice, may that generous compassion which often preserves from ruin, even a guilty villain, forever actuate the noble bosoms of Americans! But let not the miscreant host vainly imagine that we feared their arms. No; them we despised; we dread nothing but slavery. Death is the creature of a poltroon's brains; 'tis immortality to sacrifice ourselves for the salvation of our country. We fear not death. That gloomy night, the pale faced moon, and the affrighted stars that hurriedly peeped from the sky, can witness that we fear not death. Our hearts, women, our eyes, our faces glow with rage that four revolving years have scarcely taught us to restrain, can witness that we fear not death; and happy it is for those who dared to insult us, that their naked bones are not now piled up an everlasting monument of Massachusetts' bravery. But they retired, they fled, and in that flight they found their only safety. We then expected that the hand of public justice would soon inflict that punishment upon the murderers, which, by the laws of God and man, they had incurred.

"Patriotism is ever united with humanity and

compassion. This noble affection which impels us to sacrifice every thing dear, even life itself, to our country, involves in it a common sympathy and tenderness for every citizen, and must ever have a particular feeling for one who suffers in a public cause. Thoroughly persuaded of this, I need not add a word to engage your compassion and bounty towards a fellow-citizen, who with long protracted anguish, falls a victim to the relentless rage of our common enemies.

“Ye dark designing knaves, ye murderers, parasites! how dare you tread upon the earth, which has drank in the blood of slaughtered innocents, shed by your wicked hands? how dare you breathe that air which wafted to the ear of heaven, the groans of those who fell a sacrifice to your accursed ambition? but if the labouring earth doth not expand her jaws; if the air you breathe is not commissioned to be the minister of death; yet, hear it, and tremble! the eye of Heaven penetrates the darkest chambers of the soul, traces the leading clue through all the labyrinths which your industrious folly has devised; and you, however you may have screened yourselves from human eyes, must be arraigned, must lift your hands, red with the blood of those whose death you have procured, at the tremendous bar of God.

“But I gladly quit the gloomy theme of death, and leave you to improve the thought of that important day, when our naked souls must stand before that being, from whom nothing can be hid. I would not dwell too long upon the horrid effects which have already followed from quartering regular troops in this town: let our misfortunes teach posterity to guard against such evils for the future.

“Let us be ready to take the field whenever danger calls; let us be united and strengthen the hands of each other, by promoting a general union among us. Much has been done by the committees of

correspondence, for the houses of assembly, in this and our sister colonies, for uniting the inhabitants of the whole continent, for the security of their common interest. May success ever attend their generous endeavours. But permit me here to suggest a general congress of deputies, from the several houses of assembly, on the continent, as the most effectual method of establishing such an union, as the present posture of our affairs require. At such a congress a firm foundation may be laid for the security of our rights and liberties; a system may be formed for our common safety, by a strict adherence to which, we shall be able to frustrate any attempts to overthrow our constitution; restore peace and harmony to America, and secure honor and wealth to Great Britain, even against the inclinations of her ministers, whose duty it is to study her welfare; and we shall also free ourselves from those unmannerly pillagers who impudently tell us, that they are licensed by an act of the British parliament, to thrust their dirty hands into the pockets of every American. But, I trust, the happy time will come, when, with the besom of destruction, those noxious vermin will be swept forever from the streets of Boston.

“Surely you never will tamely suffer this country to be a den of thieves. Remember, my friends, from whom you sprang. Let not a meanness of spirit, unknown to those whom you boast of as your fathers, excite a thought to the dishonour of your mothers. I conjure you by all that is dear, by all that is honourable, by all that is sacred, not only that ye pray, but that you act; that, if necessary, ye fight, and even die, for the prosperity of our Jerusalem. Break in sunder, with noble disdain, the bonds with which the Philistines have bound you. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed by the soft arts of luxury and effeminacy, into the pit digged for your destruction. Despise the glare

of wealth. That people who pay greater respect to a wealthy villain, than to an honest upright man in poverty, almost deserve to be enslaved; they plainly shew that wealth, however it may be acquired, is, in their esteem, to be preferred to virtue.

“But I thank God, that America abounds in men who are superior to all temptation, whom nothing can divert from a steady pursuit of the interest of their country; who are at once its ornament and safe-guard. And sure I am, I should not incur your displeasure, if I paid a respect so justly due to their much honoured characters in this place; but, when I name an ADAMS, such a numerous host of fellow patriots rush upon my mind, that I fear it would take up too much of your time should I attempt to call over the illustrious roll: but your grateful hearts will point you to the men; and their revered names, in all succeeding times, shall grace the annals of America. From them, let us, my friends, take example; from them, let us catch the divine enthusiasm; and feel, each for himself, the god-like pleasure of diffusing happiness on all around us; of delivering the oppressed from the iron grasp of tyranny; of changing the hoarse complaints and bitter moans of wretched slaves, into those cheerful songs, which freedom and contentment must inspire. There is a heart-felt satisfaction in reflecting on our exertions for the public weal, which all the sufferings an enraged tyrant can inflict, will never take away; which the ingratitude and reproaches of those whom we have saved from ruin, cannot rob us of. The virtuous assertor of the rights of mankind, merits a reward, which even a want of success in his endeavours to save his country, the heaviest misfortune which can befall a genuine patriot, cannot entirely prevent him from receiving.

“I have the most animating confidence that the present noble struggle for liberty, will terminate

gloriously for America. And let us play the man for our God, and for the cities of our God; while we are using the means in our power, let us humbly commit our righteous cause to the great Lord of the universe, who loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity. And having secured the approbation of our hearts, by a faithful and unwearied discharge of our duty to our country, let us joyfully leave our concerns in the hands of Him who raiseth up and putteth down the empires and kingdoms of the world as He pleases; and with cheerful submission to his sovereign will, devoutly say,

“Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the field shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold; and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet we will rejoice in the Lord, we will joy in the God of our salvation.”

The battle of Lexington now announced the commencement of the revolutionary war. To gain possession of the persons of Hancock and Adams, who lodged together in that village, was one of the motives, it is said, of the expedition which led to that memorable conflict. The design, though covered with great secrecy, was anticipated, and the victims escaped, upon the entrance of their habitation by the British troops. Thus, by the felicitous intervention of a moment, were rescued from a virulent enemy, and perhaps from the executioner, those who were to contribute by their future virtues, to the revolution of empires, and to be handed down to posterity as the benefactors of mankind.

The defeat of the English in this battle was followed by the governor's proclamation declaring the province in a state of rebellion; offering, at the same time, pardon to all whose penitence should recommend them to this act of grace, with the exception of those notorious offenders, Samuel Adams

and John Hancock. These, by the enormity of their guilt, which was declared too flagitious for impunity, were reserved to propitiate the ferocity of the royal vengeance. But this signal and glorious denunciation, less the effect of good policy, than of passion, advanced these popular chiefs upon the lists of fame; they were every where hailed with increased acclamations and applauses, and not only by their illustrious merits, but by the dangers to which they were exposed, were endeared to the affections of their countrymen.

Hancock, in October, 1774, was unanimously elected president of the provincial congress of Massachusetts. In 1775, he attained the meridian of his political distinction, and the highest honour that the confidence or the esteem of his compatriots could bestow upon him; being made president of the continental congress. By his long experience in business, as moderator of the town meetings, president and speaker of the provincial assemblies and conventions, during times of great turbulence and commotion, in his native state, he was eminently qualified, as well as by his natural dignity of manners, to preside in this great council of the nation.

That there were, in this assembly, personages of a superior age to that of Mr. Hancock, and men, at the same time, of pre-eminent virtues and talents, will not be denied; who required at least some indications of deference from a generous mind, in reverence of their merits. It was, besides, an occasion upon which calmness and composure had been little commendable; and upon which indifference, or a haughty and supercilious confidence had been criminal in him who was crowned with the principal honours. For rarely in the vicissitudes of nations, has it happened that interests more sacred have been confided to the infirmity of human wisdom or integrity; and that a

spectacle more imposing has been exhibited to human observation.

In 1776, July 4th, his name appears as president of the congress which declared the colonies independent of the crown of Great Britain. The name of the president alone was published with the declaration, though every member signed it. It was a mark of respect due to Massachusetts, to have one of their members in the chair, which had been filled by a member from South Carolina and Virginia. Mr. Hancock had those talents which were calculated to make him appear to more advantage as chairman, than in the debates of a public body. He excelled as moderator of the Boston town-meetings, as president of the provincial congress, and state convention; and, as head of the great council of our nation, he was much respected. He discovered a fine address, great impartiality, sufficient spirit to command attention, and preserve order. His voice and manner were much in his favour, and his experience in public business, gave him ease and dignity.

In 1779, Mr. Hancock resigned his place in congress. He was chosen a member of the convention that formed the constitution of Massachusetts.

From 1780 to 1785, Mr. Hancock was annually chosen governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. He declined being a candidate for the office the ensuing year, and was succeeded by the honourable James Bowdoin, Esq. During the administration of Mr. Bowdoin, there was an insurrection in the state, which was happily quelled. Every thing was done in the most judicious manner, by the governor and the legislature, yet a part of the community appeared to be discontented with the administration, and in the year 1787, Mr. Hancock was again placed in the chair.

His conduct in the state convention during the

discussion of it, gained him honour. The opposition to this excellent form of government was great. It was said that the majority of the convention would be against the adoption; and that the governor was with the opposers. He was chosen president of the convention, but did not attend the debates till the latter week of the session.— Certain amendments were proposed to remove the objections of those, who thought some of the articles deprived the people of their rights. He introduced these amendments with great propriety, and voted for the adoption of the constitution. His name and influence doubtless turned many in favour of the federal government.

The latter years of his administration were easy to him, on account of the public tranquillity. The federal government became the source of so much prosperity, that the people were easy and happy. The two patriots, Hancock and Adams, were reconciled. When lieutenant governor Cushing died, general Lincoln was chosen as his successor.— This gave great offence to Mr. Adams, and it was very disagreeable to the governor. They joined their strength to support the same measures, as well as renewed their friendship. The next year Lincoln was left out of office, and Mr. Adams chosen lieutenant governor. This gentleman succeeded Mr. Hancock, as governor of the commonwealth, after his death. He died October 8, 1793.

The death of such a man was interesting to the people at large. The procession at his funeral was very great. Doctor Thacher preached his funeral sermon the next sabbath. He was very friendly to the clergy of all denominations, and did a great deal to promote the cause of learning as well as religion. The library of Harvard College will give an exhibition of his munificence; for the name of Hancock, in golden letters, now adorns one of the alcoves of the library room, and is upon

the records of the university among her greatest benefactors.

Mr. Hancock was promoted to every office which a man fond of public life could expect or desire. His manners were pleasing. He was polite, affable, easy, and condescending; and, what was greatly in his favour, did not appear lifted up with pride. Such an elevation to prosperous circumstances would make some men giddy, and cause others to despise their neighbour, poorer than themselves.

The editor will again refer to, and give an extract from, the oration of Richard Rush, Esq. delivered at the city of Washington, July 4, 1812. He said, "during the siege of Boston, general Washington consulted congress upon the propriety of bombarding the town. Mr. Hancock was then president of congress. After general Washington's letter was read, a solemn silence ensued. This was broken by a member making a motion that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole, in order that Mr. Hancock might give his opinion upon the subject, as he was so deeply interested from having all his estate in Boston. After he left the chair, he addressed the chairman of the committee of the whole, in the following words: 'It is true, sir, nearly all the property I have in the world, is in houses and other real estate in the town of Boston; but if the expulsion of the British army from it, and the liberties of our country require their being burnt to ashes, *issue the orders for that purpose immediately.*'"

HAWLEY, JOSEPH, distinguished as a statesman and patriot, was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1724, and was graduated in Yale college in 1742. Soon after finishing his collegial education, he engaged in the study and the practice of the law in his native town. In this science

he became a great proficient, and was one of the most distinguished counsellors in the province. Among his other studies, he attained to such an eminence of knowledge in political history, and the principles of free government, that, during the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, he was regarded as one of the ablest advocates of American liberty. His integrity, both in public and in private life, was inflexible, and was not even questioned by his political opponents. He was repeatedly elected a member of the council, but refused in every instance to accept the office, as he preferred a seat in the house of representatives, where his character for disinterested patriotism, and his bold and manly eloquence gave him an ascendancy, which has seldom been equalled.

In 1776, he, together with Samuel Adams and John Hancock, were elected members of the legislature. He acquired great influence in the public councils. The ascendancy which was allotted to him by the deference of others, was a fortunate circumstance for his country. Never was influence exercised with more intelligent, devoted and inflexible patriotism. He made up his mind earlier than most men, that the struggle against oppression would lead to war, and that our rights at last must be secured by our arms. As the crisis approached, when some persons urged upon him the danger of a contest, so apparently unequal, his answer was, "We must put to sea, Providence will bring us into port."

From a correspondence between Mr. John Adams, late president of the United States, and William Wirt, Esq. of Virginia, the biographer of Patrick Henry, it would seem that the declaration "*We must fight*," which Mr. Wirt had claimed for Mr. Henry, was derived from a letter which he himself had shown to Mr. Henry, written by

major Hawley, in 1774. Mr. Adams, in a letter to Mr. Wirt, dated Quincy, January 23, 1818, says, "When congress had finished their business, as they thought, in the autumn of 1774, I had, with Mr. Henry, before we took leave of each other, some familiar conversation, in which I expressed a full conviction that our resolves, declaration of rights, enumeration of wrongs, petitions, remonstrances and addresses, associations, and non-importation agreements, however they might be expected in America, and however necessary to cement the union of the colonies, would be but waste water in England. Mr. Henry said they might make some impression among the people of England, but agreed with me that they would be totally lost upon the government. I had just received a short and hasty letter, written to me by major Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, containing a few 'broken hints,' as he called them, of what he thought was proper to be done, and concluding with these words, 'AFTER ALL WE MUST FIGHT.' This letter I read to Mr. Henry, who listened with great attention, and soon as I had pronounced the words, 'after all we must fight,' he raised his head, and, with an energy and vehemence that I never can forget, broke out with '*By — I am of that man's mind.*' I put the letter into his hand, and when he had read it he returned it to me, with an equally solemn asseveration, that he agreed entirely in opinion with the writer. I considered this as a sacred oath, upon a very great occasion, and could have sworn it as religiously as he did, and by no means inconsistent with what you say, in some part of your book, that he never took the Sacred Name in vain."

In 1819, president Adams communicated the "broken hints," alluded to in the foregoing, to H. Niles. Esq. which are inserted at length in Mr. Niles's valuable work, entitled, "Principles and

Acts of the Revolution in America:" a work which ought to be in the library of every man who venerates the principles and the men of '76. We here insert an extract from the "broken hints."

"We must *fight*, if we can't otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation, all revenues, and the constitution or form of government enacted for us by the British parliament. It is evil against right; utterly intolerable to every man who has any idea or feeling of right or liberty.

"It is easy to demonstrate that the regulation act will soon annihilate every thing of value in the charter, introduce perfect despotism, and render the house of representatives a mere form and ministerial engine.

"It is now or never, that we must assert our liberty. Twenty years will make the number of tories on this continent equal to the number of whigs. They who shall be born will not have any idea of a free government.

"It will necessarily be a question, whether the new government of this province shall be suffered to take place at all; or whether it shall be immediately withstood and resisted?

"A most important question this; I humbly conceive it not best forcibly or wholly to resist it immediately.

"There is not heat enough yet for battle. Constant, and a sort of negative resistance of government, will increase the heat and blow the fire.—There is not military skill enough. That is improving, and must be encouraged and improved, but will daily increase.

"Fight we must, finally, unless Britain retreats.

"But it is of infinite consequence that victory be the end and issue of hostilities. If we get to fighting before necessary dispositions are made for it, we shall be conquered, and all will be lost forever.

“Our salvation depends upon an established persevering union of the colonies.

“The tools of administration are using every device and effort to destroy that union, and they will certainly continue so to do.

“Thereupon, all possible devices and endeavours must be used to establish, improve, brighten, and maintain such union.

“Every grievance of any one colony must be held and considered by the whole as a grievance to the whole, and must operate on the whole as a grievance to the whole. This will be a difficult matter to effect: but it must be done.

“Quere, therefore; whether is it not absolutely necessary that some plan be settled for a continuation of congresses? But here we must be aware that congresses will soon be declared and enacted by parliament, to be high treason.

“Is the India company to be compensated or not?

“If to be compensated—each colony to pay the particular damage she has done, or is an average to be made on the continent?

“The destruction of the tea was not unjust; therefore, to what good purpose is the tea to be paid for, unless we are assured that, by so doing, our rights will be restored and peace obtained?

“What future measures is the continent to preserve with regard to imported dutied tea, whether it comes as East India property or otherwise, under the pretence and lie that the tea is imported from Holland, and the goods imported before a certain given day? Dutied tea will be imported and consumed; goods continue to be imported; your non-importation agreement eluded, rendered contemptible and ridiculous; unless all teas used, and all goods, are taken into some public custody which will be inviolably faithful.”

Major Hawley did not appear in the legislature after the year 1776, but he never relaxed his zeal

in the service of his country, and was ready to contribute his efforts to the public service. By his private exertions, he rendered assistance at some very critical and discouraging periods. At the season when the prospects of the American army were the most gloomy, when the Jerseys were overrun, and the feelings of many were on the verge of despondency, he exerted himself with great activity and success, to rally the spirits of his fellow-citizens. At this time, when apathy appeared stealing upon the country, and the people were reluctant to march, on a seemingly desperate enterprise, he addressed a body of militia to urge them to volunteer as recruits. His manly eloquence, his powerful appeals to their pride, their patriotism, their duty, to every thing which they held dear and sacred, awakened their dormant feelings, and excited them to enthusiasm.

Major Hawley was a sincerely religious and pious man, but here, as in politics, he loathed all tyranny and fanatical usurpation. In the latter part of 1776, he was afflicted with hypochondriacal disorders, to which he had been frequently subject in former periods of his life; and after this declined public business. He died, March 10, 1788, aged 64 years.

Major Hawley was a patriot without personal animosities, an orator without vanity, a lawyer without chicanery, and a gentleman without ostentation; a statesman without duplicity, and a christian without bigotry. As a man of commanding talents, his firm renunciation and self-denial of all ambitious views, would have secured him that respect which such strength of mind inevitably inspires; while his voluntary and zealous devotion to the service of his countrymen, established him in their affection. His uprightness and plainness, united to his affability and disinterestedness, gave the most extensive influence to his

opinions, and in a period of doubt, divisions and danger, men sought relief from their perplexities in his authority, and suffered their course to be guided by him, when they distrusted their own judgments, or the counsels of others. He, in fine, formed one of those manly, public spirited, and generous citizens, ready to share peril and decline reward, who illustrate the idea of a commonwealth, and who, through the obstructions of human passions and infirmities, being of rare occurrence, will always be the most admired, appropriate, and noble ornaments of a free government.

HENRY, PATRICK, governor of Virginia, and a most eloquent and distinguished orator, took an early and active part in support of the rights of his country, against the tyranny of Great Britain. He was born at Studley, in the county of Hanover, and state of Virginia, on the 29th May, 1736. He descended from respectable Scotch ancestry, in the paternal line; and his mother was a native of the county in which he was born. On the maternal side, at least, he seems to have descended from a rhetorical race.

Her brother William, the father of the present judge Winston, is said to have been highly endowed with that peculiar cast of eloquence, for which Mr. Henry became, afterwards, so justly celebrated. Of this gentleman I have an anecdote from a correspondent, which I shall give in his own words. 'I have often heard my father, who was intimately acquainted with this William Winston, say, that he was the greatest orator whom he ever heard, Patrick Henry excepted; that during the last French and Indian war, and soon after Braddock's defeat, when the militia were marched to the frontiers of Virginia, against the enemy, this William Winston was the lieutenant of a company; that the men, who were indifferently clothed, without tents, and exposed to the rigour and inclemency of the

weather, discovered great aversion to the service, and were anxious and even clamorous to return to their families; when this William Winston, mounting a stump, (the common *rostrum* of the field orator in Virginia,) addressed them with such keenness of invective, and declaimed with such force of eloquence, on liberty and patriotism, that when he concluded, the general cry was, 'let us march on: lead us against the enemy;' and they were now willing, nay anxious to encounter all those difficulties and dangers, which, but a few moments before, had almost produced a mutiny.'

In childhood and youth Patrick Henry, whose name renders titles superfluous, gave no presages of his future greatness. He learned to read and write, reluctantly; made some small progress in arithmetic; acquired a superficial knowledge of the Latin language; and made a considerable proficiency in the mathematics, the only branch of education for which he discovered, in his youth, the slightest predilection. The whole soul of his youth was bound up in the sports of the field. His idleness was absolutely incurable: and, of course, he proved a truant lad, who could sit all day on a bridge, waiting for a good bite, or even, 'one glorious nibble.' The unhappy effects of this idleness were lasting as his life; and the biographer very properly cautions his youthful readers against following this bad example.

From what has been already stated, it will be seen, how little education had to do with the formation of this great man's mind. He was, indeed, a mere child of nature, and nature seems to have been too proud and too jealous of her work, to permit it to be touched by the hand of art. She gave him Shakspeare's genius, and bade him, like Shakspeare, to depend on that alone. Let not the youthful reader, however, deduce, from the example of Mr. Henry, an argument in favour of indo-

lence and the contempt of study. Let him remember that the powers which surmounted the disadvantage of these early habits, were such as very rarely appear upon this earth. Let him remember, too, how long the genius, even of Mr. Henry, was kept down and hidden from the public view, by the sorcery of those pernicious habits; through what years of poverty and wretchedness they doomed him to struggle; and, let him remember, that, at length, when in the zenith of his glory, Mr. Henry, himself, had frequent occasions to deplore the consequences of his early neglect of literature, and to bewail 'the ghosts of his departed hours.'

At the age of fifteen years, young Henry was placed behind the counter of a merchant in the country; and at sixteen his father set him up in trade, in partnership with his brother William. Through laziness, the love of music, the charms of the chase, and a readiness to *trust every one*, the firm was soon reduced to bankruptcy. The only advantage which resulted from his short continuance in mercantile business was an opportunity to study human characters.

At eighteen Mr. Henry married the daughter of an honest farmer, and undertook to cultivate a few acres for himself. His only delights, at this time, were those which flow from the endearing relations of conjugal life. His want of agricultural skill, and his unconquerable aversion to every species of systematic labour, terminated his career as a planter, in the short space of two years.—Again he had recourse to merchandise, and again failed in business. Every atom of his property was now gone, his friends were unable to assist him any further; he had tried every means of support, of which he thought himself capable, and every one had failed; ruin was behind him; poverty, debt, want, and famine before; and as if his

cup of misery were not already full enough, here was a suffering wife and children to make it overflow. Still he had a cheerful temper, and his passion was music, dancing, and pleasantry. About this time he became fond of geography and historical works generally. Livy was his favourite; and Livy, in some measure, awakened the dormant powers of his genius. As a last effort, he determined, of his own accord, to make a trial of the law. He, however, disliked the professional business of an attorney at law; and he seems to have hoped for nothing more from the profession than a scanty subsistence for himself and his family, and his preparation was suited to these humble expectations; for, to the study of a profession, which is said to require the lucubrations of twenty years, Mr Henry devoted not more than six weeks. On examination, he was licensed, rather through courtesy, and some expectation that he would study, than from any conviction which his examiners had of his present competence. At the age of four and twenty he was admitted to the bar; and for three years occupied the back ground; during which period the wants and distresses of his family were extreme; and he performed the duty of an assistant to his father-in-law in a tavern.

In 1764, he pursued his favourite amusement of hunting, with extreme ardour; and has been known to hunt deer, frequently for several days together, carrying his provisions with him, and at night encamping in the woods,

After the hunt was over, he would go from the ground to Louisa court, clad in a coarse cloth coat stained with all the trophies of the chase, greasy leather breeches ornamented in the same way, leggings for boots, and a pair of saddle-bags on his arm. Thus accoutred, he would enter the court-house, take up the first of his causes that chanced to be called; and if there was any scope

for his peculiar talent, throw his adversary into the back ground, and astonish both court and jury by the powerful effusions of his natural eloquence.

In the same year he was introduced to the gay and fashionable circle at Williamsburg, then the seat of government for the state, that he might be counsel in case of a contested election: but he made no preparation for pleading; and, as we might naturally suppose, none for appearing in a suitable costume. He moved awkwardly about in his coarse and threadbare dress; and while some thought him a prodigy, others concluded him to be an idiot: nevertheless, before the committee of elections, he delivered an argument which judge Tyler, judge Winston, and others, pronounced the best they ever heard. In the same year, it is asserted on the authority of Mr. Jefferson, that Mr. Henry gave the first impulse to the ball of the revolution. He originated the spirit of the revolution in Virginia, unquestionably; and possessed a dauntless soul, exactly suited to the important work he was destined to perform.

In the year 1765, he was a member of the assembly of Virginia. He introduced his celebrated resolutions against the stamp act, which breathed a spirit of liberty, and which had a tendency to rouse the people of that commonwealth in favour of our glorious revolution.

After his death, there was found among his papers one sealed, and thus endorsed; "Inclosed are the resolutions of the Virginia assembly, in 1765, concerning the stamp act. Let my executors open this paper." Within was found the following copy of the resolutions, in Mr. Henry's handwriting.

"Resolved, That the first adventurers and settlers of this, his majesty's colony and dominion, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his majesty's subjects,

since inhabiting in this, his majesty's said colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the people of Great Britain.

“Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by king James the first, the colonists aforesaid, are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties and immunities, of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

“Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

“Resolved, That his majesty's liege people of this most ancient colony, have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited, or any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain.

“Resolved, therefore, That the general assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.”

“On the back of the paper containing those resolutions, is the following endorsement, which is also in the hand-writing of Mr. Henry himself. The within resolutions passed the house of burges-

ses in May, 1765. They formed the first opposition to the stamp act, and the scheme of taxing America by the British parliament. All the colonies, either through fear, or want of opportunity to form an opposition, or from influence of some kind or other, had remained silent. I had been, for the first time, elected a burgess. a few days before; was young, inexperienced, unacquainted with the forms of the house, and the members that composed it. Finding the men of weight averse to opposition, and the commencement of the tax at hand, and that no person was likely to step forth, I determined to venture. and alone, unadvised, and unassisted, on a blank leaf of an old law book, wrote the within. Upon offering them to the house: violent debates ensued. Many threats were uttered, and much abuse cast on me, by the party for submission. After a long and warm contest, the resolutions passed by a very small majority, perhaps of one or two only. The alarm spread throughout America with astonishing quickness, and the ministerial party were overwhelmed. The great point of resistance to British taxation was universally established in the colonies. This brought on the war, which finally separated the two countries, and gave independence to ours. Whether this will prove a blessing or a curse, will depend upon the use our people make of the blessings which a gracious God hath bestowed on us. If they are wise, they will be great and happy. If they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a nation.

‘Reader! whoever thou art, remember this; and in thy sphere, practise virtue thyself, and encourage it in others. P. HENRY.’

Such is the short, plain, and modest account which Mr. Henry has left of this transaction.

Every American realized the truth expressed in Mr. Henry’s resolutions; but no man beside him-

self boldly dare to utter it. All wished for independence; and all hitherto trembled at the thought of asserting it.

Mr. Wirt, in his life of Henry, from which we select this sketch, says, "the following is Mr. Jefferson's account of this transaction:

"Mr. Henry moved and Mr. Johnston seconded these resolutions successively. They were opposed by Messrs. Randolph, Bland, Pendleton, Wythe, and all the old members, whose influence in the house had, till then, been unbroken. They did it, not from any question of our rights, but on the ground that the same sentiments had been, at their preceding session, expressed in a more conciliatory form, to which the answers were not yet received. But torrents of sublime eloquence from Henry, backed by the solid reasoning of Johnson, prevailed.—The last, however, and strongest resolution, was carried but by a single vote. The debate on it was most bloody. I was then but a student, and stood at the door of communication between the house and the lobby (for as yet there was no gallery) during the whole debate and vote; and I well remember that, after the numbers on the division were told and declared from the chair, Peyton Randolph (the attorney general) came out at the door where I was standing, and said as he entered the lobby, 'by —, I would have given 500 guineas for a single vote;' for one vote would have divided the house, and Robinson was in the chair, who he knew would have negatived the resolution.

"By these resolutions, and his manner of supporting them, Mr. Henry took the lead out of the hands of those who had theretofore guided the proceedings of the house; that is to say, of Pendleton, Wythe, Bland, Randolph." It was, indeed, the measure which raised him to the zenith of his glory. He had never before had a subject which entirely matched his genius, and was capable of

drawing out all the powers of his mind. It was remarked of him throughout his life, that his talents never failed to rise with the occasion, and in proportion to the resistance which he had to encounter. The nicety of the vote on his last resolution, proves that this was not a time to hold in reserve any part of his forces.

“It was indeed, an alpine passage, under circumstances even more unpropitious than those of Hanibal; for he had not only to fight, hand to hand, the powerful party who were already in possession of the heights, but at the same instant, to cheer and animate the timid band of followers, that were trembling, fainting, and drawing back, below him. It was an occasion that called upon him to put forth all his strength, and he did put it forth, in such a manner, as man never did before. The cords of argument with which his adversaries frequently flattered themselves they had bound him fast, became packthreads in his hands. He burst them with as much ease, as the unshorn Sampson did the bands of the Philistines. He seized the pillars of the temple, shook them terribly, and seemed to threaten his opponents with ruin. It was an incessant storm of lightning and thunder, which struck them aghast. The faint-hearted gathered courage from his countenance, and cowards became heroes, while they gazed upon his exploits.

“It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god, ‘Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the first, his Cromwell—and George the third—(‘Treason,’ cried the speaker—‘treason, treason,’ echoed from every part of the house. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not for an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing

on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis) *may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.*"

In August, 1774, the Virginia Convention assembled in Williamsburg, and passed a series of resolutions, whereby they pledged themselves to make common cause with the people of Boston in every extremity. They appointed as deputies to Congress on the part of that colony, Peyton Randolph, Richard H. Lee, George Washington, Richard Bland, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, who were deputed to attend the first meeting of the colonial congress.

On the 4th September, 1774, that venerable body, the old continental congress of the United States, (towards whom every American heart will bow with pious homage, while the name of liberty shall be dear in our land) met for the first time at Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen president, and the house was organized for business, with all the solemnities of a regular legislature.

The most eminent men of the various colonies were now, for the first time, brought together.— They were known to each other by fame; but they were personally strangers. The meeting was awfully solemn. The object which had called them together was of incalculable magnitude. The liberties of no less than three millions of people, with that of all their posterity, were staked on the wisdom and energy of their councils. No wonder, then, at the long and deep silence which is said to have followed upon their organization; at the anxiety with which the members looked around upon each other; and the reluctance which every individual felt to open a business so fearfully momentous. In the midst of this deep and death-like silence, and just when it was beginning to become painful-

fully embarrassing, Mr Henry arose slowly as if borne down by the weight of the subject. After faltering, according to his habit, through a most impressive exordium, in which he merely echoed back the consciousness of every other heart, in deploring his inability to do justice to the occasion, he launched, gradually, into a recital of the colonial wrongs. Rising, as he advanced, with the grandeur of his subject, and glowing at length with all the majesty and expectation of the occasion, his speech seemed more than that of mortal man. Even those who had heard him in all his glory, in the house of burgesses of Virginia, were astonished at the manner in which his talents seemed to swell and expand themselves, to fill the vaster theatre in which he was now placed. There was no rant; no rhapsody; no labour of the understanding; no straining of the voice; no confusion of the utterance.—His countenance was erect; his eye steady; his action noble; his enunciation clear and firm; his mind poised on its centre; his views of his subject comprehensive and great; and his imagination, coruscating with a magnificence and a variety, which struck even that assembly with amazement and awe. He sat down amidst murmurs of astonishment and applause; and as he had been before proclaimed the greatest orator of Virginia, he was now, on every hand, admitted to be the first orator of America.

When Mr. Henry returned from this first congress to his constituents, he was asked ‘whom he thought the greatest man in congress,’ and replied, if you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, colonel Washington, is unquestionably, the greatest man on that floor’.

In March, 1775, Mr. Henry was a member of the convention of delegates from the several coun-

ties and corporations of Virginia, assembled in Richmond. In this body, while all the other leading members were still disposed to pursue only milk-and-water measures, he proposed resolutions for embodying, arming and disciplining such number of men, as should be sufficient to defend the colony against the aggressions of the mother country. The resolutions were opposed as not only rash in policy, but as harsh and well nigh impious in point of feeling. Some of the warmest patriots of the convention opposed them. Bland, Harrison, Pendleton, &c. resisted them with all their influence and abilities. An ordinary man, in Mr. Henry's situation, would have been glad to compound with the displeasure of the house, by being permitted to withdraw his resolutions in silence.

"Not so, Mr. Henry. His was a spirit fitted to raise the whirlwind, as well as to ride in and direct it. His was that comprehensive view, that unerring prescience, that perfect command over the actions of men, which qualified him not merely to guide, but almost to create the destinies of nations.

"He rose at this time with a majesty unusual to him in an exordium, and with all that self-possession by which he was so invariably distinguished. "No man," he said, "thought more highly than he did of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who had just addressed the house. But different men often saw the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, he hoped it would not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as he did, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, he should speak forth *his* sentiments freely, and without reserve. This, he said, was no time for ceremony. The question before the house was one of awful moment to this country. For his own part, he considered it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery.

V

And in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It was only in this way that they could hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which they held to God and their country. Should he keep back his opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, he should consider himself as guilty of treason towards his country, and of an act of disloyalty towards the majesty of Heaven, which he revered above all earthly kings.

"Mr. President," said he, "it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth; and listen to the song of that syren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this," he asked, "the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Were we disposed to be of the number of those, who having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For his part, whatever anguish of spirit it might cost, *he* was willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst; and to provide for it.

"He had," he said, "but one lamp by which his feet were guided; and that was the lamp of experience. He knew of no way of judging of the future but by the past. And judging by the past, he wished to know what there had been in the conduct of the British ministry, for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which gentlemen had been pleased to solace themselves and the house? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconcilia-

tion? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which kings resort. I ask gentlemen, sir; what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it?—Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains, which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose to them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we any thing new to offer upon the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted? Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done every thing that could be done, to avert the storm that is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.* If we wish to be free; if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending;

if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained; we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight!! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

“They tell us, sir,” continued Mr. Henry, “that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations; and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged.—Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable; and let it come!! I repeat it, sir, let it come!!!

“It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace; but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that

sweeps from the north, will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me," cried he, with both his arms extended aloft, his brows knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and his voice swelled to its boldest note of exclamation, "give me liberty, or give me death!"

"He took his seat. No murmur of applause was heard. The effect was too deep. After the trance of a moment, several members started from their seats. The cry, "to arms," seemed to quiver on every lip, and gleam from every eye! Richard H. Lee arose and supported Mr. Henry, with his usual spirit and elegance. But his melody was lost amidst the agitations of that ocean, which the master spirit of the storm had lifted up on high. That supernatural voice still sounded in their ears, and shivered along their arteries. They heard in every pause the cry of liberty or death. They became impatient of speech; their souls were on fire for action."

The resolutions were adopted, and Patrick Henry, Richard H. Lee, Robert C. Nicholas, Benjamin Harrison, Lemuel Riddick, George Washington, Adam Stevens, Andrew Lewis, Wm. Christman, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Jefferson, and Isaac Zane, Esquires, were appointed a committee to prepare the plan called for by the resolutions.

In April, 1775, after lord Dunmore had conveyed on board a ship, a part of the powder from the magazine of Williamsburg, Mr. Henry distinguished himself by assembling the independent companies of Hanover and King William counties, and directing them towards Williamsburg,

with the avowed design of obtaining payment for the powder, or of compelling its restitution. The object was effected, for the king's receiver general gave a bill for the value of the property. The governor immediately fortified his palace, and issued a proclamation, charging those who had procured the bill with rebellious practices. This only occasioned a number of county meetings, which applauded the conduct of Mr. Henry, and expressed a determination to protect him. In August, 1775, when a new choice of deputies to congress was made, he was not re-elected, for his services were now demanded more exclusively in his own state. After the departure of lord Dunmore, he was chosen the first governor in June, 1776, and he held this office several succeeding years, bending all his exertions to promote the freedom and independence of his country.

In June, 1777, and again in 1778, he was unanimously re-elected governor; but he declined the honour. In 1780, we find him again in the assembly, and one of the most active members of the house.

In 1788, he was a member of the convention of the state of Virginia, which was appointed to consider the constitution of the United States: and he exerted all the force of his masterly eloquence, day after day, to prevent its adoption. He contended that changes were dangerous to liberty; that the old confederation had carried us through the war, and secured our independence, and needed only amendment; that the proposed was a consolidated government, in which the sovereignty of the states would be lost, and all pretensions to rights and privileges would be rendered insecure. He offered a resolution, containing a bill of rights and amendments, which, however, was not accepted.

“The convention had been attended from its commencement by a vast concourse of citizens, of

all ages and conditions. The interest so universally felt in the question itself, and not less the transcendent talents which were engaged in its discussion, presented such attractions as could not be resisted.

“Towards the close of the session, an incident occurred of a character so extraordinary as to deserve particular notice. The question of adoption or rejection was now approaching. The decision was still uncertain, and every mind and every heart was filled with anxiety. Mr. Henry partook most deeply of this feeling; and while engaged, as it were, in his last effort, availed himself of the strong sensation which he knew to pervade the house, and made an appeal to it which, in point of sublimity, has never been surpassed in any age or country in the world. After describing, in accents which spoke to the soul, and to which every other bosom deeply responded, the awful immensity of the question, to the present and future generations, and the throbbing apprehensions with which he looked to the issue, he passed from the house and from the earth, and looking, as he said, “beyond that horizon which binds mortal eyes,” he pointed, with a countenance and action that made the blood run back upon the aching heart, to those celestial beings, who were hovering over the scene, and waiting with anxiety for a decision which involved the happiness or misery of more than half the human race. To those beings; with the same thrilling look and action; he had just addressed an invocation, that made every nerve shudder with supernatural horror—when lo! a storm, at that instant arose, which shook the whole building, and the spirits whom he had called, seemed to have come at his bidding. Nor did his eloquence, or the storm immediately cease; but, availing himself of the incident, with a master’s art, he seemed to mix in the fight of his æthereal auxiliaries, and

“rising on the wings of the tempest, to seize upon the artillery of Heaven, and direct its fiercest thunders against the heads of his adversaries.” The scene became insupportable; and the house rose, without the formality of adjournment, the members rushing from their seats with precipitation and confusion.”

The constitution was adopted by a small majority. Mr. Henry's bill of rights, and his amendments, were then accepted, and directed to be transmitted to the several states. Some of these amendments have been ingrafted into the federal constitution.

“The case of John Hook is worthy of insertion. Hook was a Scotchman, a man of wealth, and suspected of being unfriendly to the American cause. During the distresses of the American army, consequent on the joint invasion of Cornwallis and Phillips in 1781, a Mr Venable, an army commissary, had taken two of Hook's steers for the use of the troops. The act had not been strictly legal; and on the establishment of peace, Hook, under the advice of Mr Cowan, a gentleman of some distinction in the law, thought proper to bring an action of trespass against Mr Venable, in the district court of New London. Mr Henry appeared for the defendant, and is said to have disported himself in this cause to the infinite enjoyment of his hearers, the unfortunate Hook always excepted. After Mr. Henry became animated in the cause, he appeared to have complete controul over the passions of his audience: at one time he excited their indignation against Hook: vengeance was visible in every countenance: again, when he chose to relax and ridicule him, the whole audience was in a roar of laughter. He painted the distresses of the American army, exposed almost naked to the rigour of a winter's sky, and marking the frozen ground over which they march-

ed, with the blood of their unshod feet; where was the man, he said, who has an American heart in his bosom, who would not have thrown open his fields, his barns, his cellars, the doors of his house, the portals of his breast, to have received with open arms, the meanest soldier in that little band of famished patriots? Where is the man? *There* he stands; but whether the heart of an American beats in his bosom, you gentlemen, are to judge. He then carried the jury, by the powers of his imagination, to the plains around York, the surrender of which had followed shortly after the act complained of: he depicted the surrender in the most glowing and noble colours of his eloquence. The audience saw before their eyes the humiliation and dejection of the British, as they marched out of their trenches; they saw the triumph which lighted up every patriotic face, and the shouts of victory, and the cry of Washington and liberty, as it rung and echoed through the American ranks, and was reverberated from the hills and shores of the neighbouring river; but, hark, what notes of discord are these which disturb the general joy, and silence the acclamations of victory; they are the notes of *John Hook*, hoarsely bawling through the American camp, *beef! beef! beef!*

“The whole audience were convulsed: a particular incident will give a better idea of the effect, than any general description. The clerk of the court, unable to command himself, and unwilling to commit any breach of decorum in his place, rushed out of the court house, and threw himself on the grass, in the most violent paroxysm of laughter, where he was rolling, when Hook, with very different feelings, came out for relief, into the yard also. The cause was decided almost by acclamation. The jury retired for form sake, and instantly returned with a verdict for the defendant. Nor did the effect of Mr. Henry’s speech

stop here. The people were so highly excited by the tory audacity of such a suit, that Hook began to hear around him a cry more terrible than that of *beef*: it was the cry of *tar and feathers*: from the application of which, it is said, that nothing saved him but a precipitate flight and the speed of his horse."

In the two remaining years he continued a member of the assembly. In the spring of 1791, he declined a re-election, with the purpose of bidding a final adieu to public life. In August 1795, he was nominated by president Washington as secretary of state, but considerations of a private nature induced him to decline the honourable trust. In November, 1796, he was again elected governor of Virginia, and this office also he almost immediately resigned. In the year 1799, he was appointed by president Adams, as an envoy to France, with Messrs. Ellsworth and Murray; this he also declined in consequence of a severe indisposition, to which he was then subject, and of his advanced age and increasing debility. Governor Davie, of North Carolina, was appointed in his place. He lived but a short time after this testimony of the respect in which his talents and patriotism were held.

The disease which had been preying upon him for two years, now hastened to its crisis. He died on the 6th of June, 1799, in the 62d year of his age.

"Thus lived, and thus died, the celebrated Patrick Henry, of Virginia; a man who justly deserves to be ranked among the highest ornaments, and the noblest benefactors of his country. In his habits of living, he was remarkably temperate and frugal. He seldom drank any thing but water. His morals were strict. As a husband, a father, a master, he had no superior. He was kind and hospitable to the stranger, and most friendly and accommodating to his neighbours."

HOPKINSON, FRANCIS, Judge of the Court of Admiralty, in Pennsylvania, was born in Pennsylvania, in the year 1738. He possessed an uncommon share of genius, of a peculiar kind. He excelled in music and poetry; and had some knowledge in painting. But these arts did not monopolise all the powers of his mind. He was well skilled in many practical and useful sciences, particularly in mathematics and natural philosophy; and he had a general acquaintance with the principles of anatomy, chemistry and natural history. But his *forte* was humour and satire, in both of which, he was not surpassed by Lucian, Swift or Rabelais. These extraordinary powers were consecrated to the advancement of the interests of patriotism, virtue and science. It would fill many pages to mention his numerous publications during the revolutionary war, all of which were directed to these important objects. He began in the year 1775, with a small tract, which he entitled, "A Pretty Story," in which he exposed the tyranny of Great Britain, in America, by a most beautiful allegory, and he concluded his contributions to his country, in this way, with the history of "The new roof," a performance, which for wit, humor and good sense, must last as long as the citizens of America continue to admire, and be happy under the present national government of the United States.

Newspaper scandal frequently, for months together, disappeared or languished, after the publication of several of his irresistible satires upon that disgraceful species of writing. He gave a currency to a thought or a phrase, in these effusions from his pen, which never failed to bear down the spirit of the times, and frequently to turn the divided tides of party rage, into one general channel of ridicule or contempt.

Sometimes he employed his formidable powers of humour and satire in exposing the formalities of

technical science. He thought much, and thought justly upon the subject of education. He held several of the arts and sciences, which are taught in colleges, in great contempt. His specimen of modern learning in a tedious examination, the only object of which was to describe the properties of a "Salt Box," published in the American Museum, for February, 1787, will always be relished as a morsel of exquisite humour.

Mr. Hopkinson possessed uncommon talents for pleasing in company. His wit was not of that coarse kind, which was calculated to set the table in a roar. It was mild and elegant, and infused cheerfulness and a species of delicate joy, rather than mirth, into the hearts of all who heard it.— His empire over the attention and passions of his company, was not purchased at the expense of innocence. A person who has passed many delightful hours in his society, declared, with pleasure, that he never once heard him use a profane expression, nor utter a word, which would have made a lady blush, or have clouded her countenance for a moment with a look of disapprobation. It is this species of wit alone, that indicates a rich and powerful imagination, while that which is tinctured with profanity, or indelicacy, argues poverty of genius inasmuch as they have both been considered very properly as the cheapest products of the mind.

Mr. Hopkinson's character for abilities and patriotism, procured him the confidence of his countrymen in the most trying exigencies of their affairs. He represented the state of New Jersey, in Congress, in the year 1776, and subscribed the ever memorable declaration of Independence. He held an appointment in the loan office for several years, and afterwards succeeded George Ross, Esquire, as judge of the admiralty for the state of Pennsylvania. In this station he continued till the year 1790, when he was appointed judge of the

district court in Pennsylvania, by the illustrious Washington, then President of the United States, and in each of these judicial offices, he conducted himself with the greatest ability and integrity.

His person was a little below the common size. His features were small, but extremely animated. His speech was quick, and all his motions seemed to partake of the unceasing activity and versatility of the powers of his mind.

It only remains to add, to this account of Mr. Hopkinson, that the various causes which contributed to the establishment of the independence and federal government of the United States, will not be *fully traced*, unless much is ascribed to the irresistible influence of the *ridicule* which he poured forth, from time to time, upon the enemies of those great political events.

He was an active and useful member of three great parties, which at different times divided his native state. He was a whig, a republican, and a federalist, and he lived to see the principles and the wishes of each of those parties finally and universally successful. Although his labours had been rewarded with many plentiful harvests of well earned fame, yet his death, to his country and his friends, was premature. He had been subject to frequent attacks of the gout in his head, but for some time before his death, he had enjoyed a considerable respite from them. On Sunday evening, May 8th, 1791, he was somewhat indisposed, and passed a restless night. He rose on Monday morning at his usual hour, and breakfasted with his family. At seven o'clock, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which in two hours put a period to his existence, in the 53d year of his age.

HOPKINS, STEPHEN, a distinguished patriot and statesman, was a native of that part of Providence, Rhode Island, which now forms the town of Scituate. He was born in March, 1707. In

his youth, he disclosed high promise of talents, and soon became esteemed for his growing worth, his early virtues, and his regular and useful life. At an early period, he was appointed a justice of the peace, was employed extensively in the business of surveying lands, and was appointed to various other offices, some of which were responsible and important; and he discharged the duties of all, with great ability and faithfulness, and with equal advantage to his own reputation and the public interest. In 1754, he was appointed a member of the board of commissioners, which assembled at Albany, to digest and concert a plan of union for the colonies. Shortly after this he was chosen chief justice of the superior court of the colony of Rhode Island; and in 1755, he was elevated to the office of chief magistrate of the colony, and continued in this dignified and important station about eight years, but not in succession. He was, also, for several years, chancellor of the College. At the commencement of the difficulties between the colonies and Great Britain, governor Hopkins took an early, active, and decided part in favour of the former. He wrote a pamphlet in support of the rights and claims of the colonies, called "the Rights of the Colonies examined," which was published by order of the general assembly. He was a member of the immortal congress of '76, which declared these states, (then colonies) to be "free, sovereign and independent;" and his signature is attached to this sublime and important instrument, which has no example in the archives of nations.

Governor Hopkins was not only distinguished as a statesman and patriot, but as a man of business; having been extensively engaged in trade and navigation, and also concerned in manufactures and agriculture. He was a decided advocate, and a zealous supporter, both of civil and religious li-

berty, a firm patriot, a friend to his country, and a patron of useful public institutions. He possessed a sound and discriminating mind, and a clear and comprehensive understanding; was alike distinguished for his public and private virtues, being an able and faithful public officer, and an eminently useful private citizen.

Governor Hopkins finished his long, honourable and useful life, on the 20th July, 1785, in the 79th year of his age.

KNOX, HENRY, major-general in the American army during the revolutionary war, was born in Boston, July 25, 1750. His parents were of Scottish descent. Before our revolutionary war, which afforded an opportunity for the development of his patriotic feelings and military talents, he was engaged in a bookstore. By means of his early education, and this honourable employment, he acquired a taste for literary pursuits, which he retained through life.

Young Knox gave early proofs of his attachment to the cause of freedom and his country. It will be recollected, that, in various parts of the state, volunteer companies were formed in 1774, with a view to awaken the martial spirit of the people, and as a sort of preparation for the contest which was apprehended. Knox was an officer in a military corps of this denomination; and was distinguished by his activity and discipline. There is evidence of his giving uncommon attention to military tactics at this period, especially to the branch of enginery and artillery, in which he afterwards so greatly excelled.

It is also to be recorded, in proof of his predominant love of country, and its liberties, that he had before this time, become connected with a very respectable family, which adhered to the measures of the British ministry, and had received great promises both of honour and profit, if he would

follow the standard of his sovereign. Even at this time his talents were too great to be overlooked; and it was wished, if possible, to prevent him from attaching himself to the cause of the provincials. He was one of those whose departure from Boston was interdicted by governor Gage, soon after the affair of Lexington. The object of Gage was probably not so much to keep these eminent characters as hostages, as to deprive the Americans of their talents and services. In June, however, he found means to make his way through the British lines, to the American army at Cambridge. He was here received with joyful enthusiasm: for his knowledge of the military art, and his zeal for the liberties of the country, were admitted by all.—The provincial congress then convened at Watertown, immediately sent for him, and entrusted solely to him the erection of such fortresses as might be necessary to prevent a sudden attack from the enemy in Boston.

The little army of militia, collected in and about Cambridge, in the spring of 1775, soon after the battle of Lexington, was without order and discipline. All was insubordination and confusion. General Washington did not arrive to take command of the troops until after this period. In this state of things, Knox declined any particular commission, though he readily directed his attention and exertions to the objects which congress requested.

It was in the course of this season, and before he had formally undertaken the command of the artillery, that Knox volunteered his services to go to St. John's, in the province of Canada, and to bring thence to Cambridge, all the heavy ordnance and military stores. This hazardous enterprize he effected in a manner which astonished all who knew the difficulty of the service.

Soon after his return from this fortunate expe-

dition, he took command of the whole corps of the artillery of our army, and retained it until the close of the war. To him the country was chiefly indebted for the organization of the artillery and ordnance department. He gave it both form and efficiency; and it was distinguished alike for its expertness of discipline and promptness of execution.

At the battle of Monmouth, in New Jersey, in June, 1778, general Knox exhibited new proofs of his bravery and skill. Under his personal and immediate direction, the artillery gave great effect to the success of that memorable day. It will be remembered, that the British troops were much more numerous than ours; and that general Lee was charged with keeping back the battalion he commanded from the field of battle. The situation of our army was most critical. General Washington was personally engaged in rallying and directing the troops in the most dangerous positions. The affair terminated in favour of our gallant army; and generals Knox and Wayne received the particular commendations of the commander-in-chief, the following day, in the orders issued on the occasion. After mentioning the good conduct and bravery of general Wayne, and thanking the gallant officers and men who distinguished themselves, general Washington says, "he can with pleasure inform general Knox, and the officers of the artillery, that the enemy have done them the justice to acknowledge that no artillery could be better served than ours."

When general Greene was offered the arduous command of the southern department, he replied to the commander-in-chief, "Knox is the man for this difficult undertaking; all obstacles vanish before him; his resources are infinite." "True," replied Washington, "and therefore I cannot part with him."

No officer in the army, it is believed, more largely shared in the affection and confidence of the illustrious Washington. In every action where he appeared, Knox was with him: at every council of war, he bore a part. In truth, he possessed talents and qualities, which could not fail to recommend him to a man of the discriminating mind of Washington. He was intelligent, brave, patriotic, humane, honourable. Washington soon became sensible of his merits, and bestowed on him his esteem, his friendship, and confidence.

On the resignation of major-general Benjamin Lincoln, Knox was appointed secretary of the war department, by congress, during the period of the confederation. And when the federal government was organized in 1789, he was designated by president Washington, for the same honourable and responsible office.

This office he held for about five years; enjoying the confidence of the president, and esteemed by all his colleagues in the administration of the federal government. Of his talents, his integrity, and his devotion to the interests and prosperity of his country, no one had ever any reason to doubt. In 1794, he retired from office to a private station, followed by the esteem and love of all who had been honoured with his acquaintance.

At this time he removed with his family to Thomaston, on St. George's river, in the district of Maine, 200 miles north-east of Boston. He was possessed of extensive landed property in that part of the country, which had formerly belonged to general Waldo, the maternal grandfather of Mrs. Knox.

At the request of his fellow-citizens, though unsolicited on his part, he filled a seat at the council-board of Massachusetts, during several years of his residence at Thomaston; and the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by the president and trustees of Dartmouth college.

The amiable virtues of the citizen and the man, were as conspicuous in the character of general Knox, as the more brilliant and commanding talents of the hero and statesman. The afflicted and destitute were sure to share of his compassion and charity. "His heart was made of tenderness;" and he often disregarded his own wishes and convenience, in kind endeavours to promote the interest and happiness of his friends.

The possession of extensive property and high office, is too apt to engender pride and insolence. But general Knox was entirely exempt, both in disposition and manners, from this common frailty. Mildness ever beamed in his countenance; "on his tongue were the words of kindness;" and equanimity and generosity, always marked his intercourse with his fellow men. The poor he never oppressed: the more obscure citizen, we believe, could never complain of injustice at his hands. With all classes of people he dealt on the most fair and honourable principles: and would sooner submit to a sacrifice of property himself, than injure or defraud another.

In his person, general Knox was above the common stature; of noble and commanding form; of manners elegant, conciliating, and dignified.

To the amiable qualities and moral excellencies of general Knox, which have already been enumerated, we may justly add his prevailing disposition to piety. With much of the manners of the gay world, and opposed, as he was, to all superstition and bigotry, he might not appear to those, ignorant of his better feelings, to possess religious and devout affections. But to his friends it was abundantly evident, that he cherished exalted sentiments of devotion and piety to God. He was a firm believer in the natural and moral attributes of the Deity, and his overruling and all-pervading providence.

when the words of the recognizance, "our sovereign lord the king," were read to Mr. Laurens, he distinctly replied in open court, "not my sovereign!" With this declaration, he, with Messrs. Oswald and Anderson, as his securities, were bound for his appearance at the next court of king's bench for Easter term, and for not departing without leave of the court, upon which he was immediately discharged. When the time appointed for his trial approached, he was not only exonerated from obligation to attend, but solicited by lord Shelburne to depart for the continent to assist in a scheme for a pacification with America. The idea of being released, gratuitously, by the British government, sensibly moved him, for he had invariably considered himself as a prisoner of war. Possessed of a lofty sense of personal independence, and unwilling to be brought under the slightest obligation, he thus expressed himself, "I durst not accept myself as a gift; and as congress once offered general Burgoyne for me, I have no doubt of their being now willing to offer earl Cornwallis for the same purpose."

Close confinement in the Tower for more than fourteen months, had shattered his constitution, and he was, ever afterwards, a stranger to good health. As soon as his discharge was promulgated, he received from congress a commission, appointing him one of their ministers for negotiating a peace with Great Britain. Arrived at Paris, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, he signed the preliminaries of peace on the 30th of November, 1782, by which the independence of the United States was unequivocally acknowledged. Soon after this, Mr. Laurens returned to Carolina. Entirely satisfied with the whole course of his conduct while abroad, it will readily be imagined that his countrymen refused him no distinctions within their power to bestow;

but every solicitation to suffer himself to be elected governor, member of congress, or of the legislature of the state, he positively withstood. When the project of a general convention for revising the federal bond of union, was under consideration, he was chosen, without his knowledge, one of its members, but he refused to serve. Retired from the world and its concerns, he found delight in agricultural experiments, in advancing the welfare of his children and dependants, and in attentions to the interest of his friends and fellow citizens.

He expired on the 8th of December, 1792, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Colonel Laurens, his interesting son, having executed his commission in France, returned to resume his place in the army. He was killed in the very last days of the war, in an insignificant skirmish, just when the liberties of his country were decided.

LEE, RICHARD, HENRY, president of congress, was a native of Virginia, and from his earliest youth devoted his talents to the service of his country. His public life was distinguished by some remarkable circumstances. He had the honour of originating the first resistance to British oppression in the time of the stamp act in 1765. He proposed in the Virginia house of burgesses, in 1773, the formation of a committee of correspondence, whose object was to disseminate information, and to kindle the flame of liberty throughout the continent. He was a member of the first congress, and it was he who made and ably supported, the motion for the declaration of independence, June 10, 1776. The motion was seconded by Mr. John Adams, of Massachusetts. Mr. Botta, in his history of the American revolution, says, Mr. Lee, spoke as follows, in support of his motion to declare the colonies inde-

pendent, and was listened to with the most profound attention:

“I do not know, most prudent men and virtuous citizens, whether among the transactions handed down to us by historians, which originated in civil discord, and excited either a love of liberty in the people or ambitious desires in their rulers, any can be found more interesting and important than that which now engages our attention; whether we consider the future destiny of this free and virtuous people, or that of our enemies, who, notwithstanding this cruel war and unaccustomed tyranny, are our brethren, and descended from a common stock; or that of other nations, whose eyes are intent upon this great spectacle, and who anticipate from our success more freedom for themselves, or from our defeat apprehend heavier chains and a severer bondage. For the question is not whether we shall acquire an increase of territorial dominion, or wickedly wrest from others their just possessions; but whether we shall preserve or lose forever, that liberty which we have inherited from our ancestors, which we have sought to preserve by crossing a wide and tempestuous ocean, and which we have defended, in this land, against barbarous men, contending, at the same time, against the beasts of the wilderness and the diseases of an ungenial clime. And if so many and distinguished praises have always been lavished upon the generous defenders of Greek and Roman liberty, what will be said of us, who defend, not that freedom which rests upon the capricious will of an unstable multitude; but on immutable statutes and our tutelary laws; not that which was the exclusive privilege of a few patricians, but that which is the property of all: not that, finally, which is stained by unjust ostracisms or the decimation of armies; but that which is pure, temperate, and gentle, and conformed to the mild manners of the

age in which we live. Why then, why do we procrastinate, and to what purpose are these delays? Let us finish the undertaking so well begun; and since we cannot hope to secure that liberty and peace, which are our delight, in a continuance of the union with England, let us break the ties which bind us together, and perfect that which we enjoy already, I mean, our entire and absolute independence. Nor must I here, in the beginning of my discourse, omit to say, that if we have reached that fatal extremity, where nothing else can exist between America and England, but such war or such peace as may exist between nations foreign to each other, this can only be imputed to the insatiable cupidity, the tyrannical proceedings, and reiterated outrages of the British ministry. On our part, nothing was omitted that might preserve the ancient state of peace and harmony. Who has not heard our prayers, and who is ignorant of our supplications? England alone was deaf to our complaints, and wanted that compassion which was generously bestowed upon us by other nations. And as at first our forbearance, and then our resistance have been equally insufficient; since our prayers were unavailing, as well as the blood lately shed; we must go further, and secure our independence. Nor let any one believe that this alternative can be avoided. The time will undoubtedly come, when the fatal separation will take place, whether you will or no; for such will be the inevitable consequence of the nature of things; of our always increasing population; of the fertility of our land; of the extent of our territory; of the industry of our countrymen; of the wide intervening ocean; of the distance of the two countries. And if this be true, as it is most true, who does not see that the sooner it takes place the better; and that it would be not only imprudent, but the height of folly not to seize the present occasion,

when British injustice has filled all hearts with indignation, inspired all minds with courage, produced concord, convinced the understandings, and made us fly to arms to defend our lives? And how long shall we be compelled to traverse three thousand miles of a tempestuous sea to ask of haughty and insolent men for counsel or commands respecting our domestic concerns? Does it not become a great, rich, and powerful nation, as we are, to look at home, and not abroad, for the government of our affairs? How can a ministry of strangers judge correctly of our concerns, respecting which it has no knowledge, and in which it has no interest? The past justice of the British ministers should make us beware of the future, if they should again fix their iron fangs upon us. Since it has pleased the cruelty of our enemies to place before us the alternative of slavery or independence, where is the generous minded man, and the lover of his country, who can hesitate to choose? With these perfidious men no promise is secure, no pledges sacred. Let us suppose, which Heaven avert! that we are conquered, or are obliged to come to terms. What assurance have we of the British moderation in victory, or good faith in treaty? Is it their having enlisted, and let loose against us the ferocious Indians of the forest, and the merciless soldiers of Germany? Is it that faith, which has been so many times pledged, and so many times broken, during the present contest? Is it the British faith, which is considered more false than puny? Have we not rather reason to expect, that when we have delivered ourselves naked and unarmed into their hands, they will wreck their vengeance upon us, will bind us with heavier chains, in order to deprive us not only of the power, but even of the hope of again casting off the yoke? But let us suppose that there will happen in the present case, what has never happened in any oth-

er, that the British government will forget past offences and comply with the conditions of peace; can we believe that after so long a contest, after so many wounds, so many deaths, and so much bloodshed, our reconciliation could be durable, and that every day in the midst of so much hatred and rancour, would not afford some fresh subject of animosity? The two nations are already separated in interest and affections; the one is conscious of its former strength, the other has become acquainted with its recently exerted force; the one intends to rule in an arbitrary manner, the other will not obey even if allowed its privileges. In such a state of things, what peace, what harmony can be expected? The Americans may become faithful friends of the English, but subjects, never. And let us suppose even that union could be restored without rancour, it could not without danger. The wealth and power of Great Britain should inspire prudent men with fears for the future. Having reached such a height of grandeur that she has little or nothing to dread from foreign powers, in the security of peace the hearts of her people will become enervated, manners will be corrupted, her youth will become vicious, and the nation degenerating in body and in mind, England will become the prey of foreign enemies or ambitious citizens. Should we remain united with her, we should partake of her corruptions and misfortunes, so much more to be dreaded as they would be irreparable; separated from her, and remaining as we now are, we should have to fear neither the security of peace nor the dangers of war. And by a declaration of our freedom, the perils would not be increased, but the minds of men would be better prepared, and victory more sure. Let us then take a firm step, and escape from this labyrinth: we have assumed the sovereign power, and dare not own it: we disobey a king, and acknowledge ourselves his subjects;

wage war against a nation, upon whom we always profess to be willing to be dependent. In this uncertain state of things the inclinations of men are wavering; ardent resolves are impeded; new difficulties are continually arising; our generals neither respected, nor obeyed; our soldiers neither confident, nor zealous; weak at home, and despised abroad, foreign princes can neither esteem nor succour so timid and wavering a people. But independence once proclaimed, and our object avowed, more manly and decided measures will be adopted; the greatness of the end in view will inspire the minds of the people with an energy proportionably great; the civil magistrates will be filled with new zeal, generals with new ardor, the soldiers with new courage, and all our citizens with more constancy and alertness, intent on this sublime and generous undertaking. But in consequence of it, will England contend against us with more energy and rage than she has already? Certainly not; she terms resistance to oppression, rebellion, as well as independence. And where are those formidable troops, that are to subdue the Americans? The English could not, and shall the Germans do it? Are they more brave, or better disciplined than the English? No! Besides, if the enemy's numbers have increased, ours have not diminished; and we have acquired in the severe battles of the present year, the practice of arms, and the experience of war. Who doubts then that a declaration of independence will procure us allies? All nations are desirous of procuring, by commerce, the production of our exuberant soil; they will visit our ports hitherto closed by the monopoly of insatiable England. They are no less eager to contemplate the reduction of her hated power; they all loathe her barbarous dominion; their succours will evince to our brave countrymen the gratitude they bear them for having been the first to shake the foundation of

this Colossus. Foreign princes wait only for the extinction of all hazard of reconciliation to throw off their present reserve. If this measure is useful, it is no less becoming our dignity. America has arrived at a degree of power which assigns her a place among independent nations; we are not less entitled to it than the English themselves. If they have wealth, so have we; if they are brave, so are we; if they are more numerous, our population, through the incredible fruitfulness of our chaste wives, will soon equal theirs; if they have men of renown as well in peace as in war, we likewise have such; political revolutions usually produce great, brave, and generous spirits. From what we have already achieved in these painful beginnings, it is easy to presume what we shall hereafter accomplish, for experience is the source of sage counsels, and liberty is the mother of great men. Have you not seen the enemy driven from Lexington, by thirty thousand citizens armed and assembled in one day? Already their most celebrated generals have yielded in Boston to the skill of ours; already their seamen, repulsed from our coasts, wander over the ocean, where they are the sport of the tempest, and the prey of famine. Let us hail the favourable omen, and fight, not for the sake of knowing on what terms we are to be the slaves of England, but to secure to ourselves a free existence, to found a just and independent government. Animated by liberty, the Greeks repulsed the innumerable army of Persians; sustained by the love of independence, the Swiss and the Dutch humbled the power of Austria by memorable defeats, and conquered a rank among nations. But the sun of America also shines upon the heads of the brave; the point of our weapons is no less formidable than theirs; here also the same union prevails: the same contempt of dangers and of death in asserting the cause of our country.

“Why then do we longer delay; why still deliberate? Let this most happy day give birth to the American republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and conquer, but to re-establish the reign of peace and of the laws. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us! she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of the citizens, with the ever increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted, repose. She intreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant, which first sprung up and grew in England, but is now withered by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race. This is the end presaged by so many omens, by our first victories, by the present ardour and union, by the flight of Howe, and the pestilence which broke out amongst Dunmore’s people, by the very winds which baffled the enemy’s fleets and transports. and that terrible tempest which engulfed seven hundred vessels upon the coast of Newfoundland. If we are not this day wanting in our duty to the country, the names of the American legislators will be exalted, in the eyes of posterity, to a level with those of Theseus, Lycurgus, of Romulus, of Numa, of the three Williams of Nassau. and of all those whose memory has been, and will be, forever dear to virtuous men and good citizens.”

After the adoption of the articles of the confederation, Mr. Lee was under the necessity of withdrawing from congress. as no representative was allowed to continue in congress more than three years in any term of six years; but he was re-elected in 1784, and continued till 1787. In November, 1784, he was chosen president of congress. When the constitution of the United States was submitted to the

consideration of the public, he contended for the necessity of amendments previously to its adoption. After the government was organized, he was chosen one of the first senators from Virginia in 1789. This station he held till his resignation in 1792.

Mr. Lee died at his seat at Chantilly, in Westmoreland county, Virginia, June 22, 1794, in the sixty-third year of his age. He supported through life the character of a philosopher, a patriot, and a sage; and he died, as he had lived, blessing his country.

LIVINGSTON, PHILIP, whose signature is attached to our Declaration of Independence, was born at Albany, in the year 1715, and educated at Yale college, in Connecticut, where he graduated in 1737. He was a grandson of Robert Livingston, the original proprietor of the manor of Livingston, on the river Hudson, in the state of New-York, who was born at Ancram in Scotland, in the year 1654. His father, the Reverend John Livingston, a very distinguished minister of the kirk of Scotland, having some years after found it necessary to quit his native country, on account of his "opposition to Episcopacy," took charge of an English Presbyterian church in Rotterdam, while he himself selected America as his future residence.

The grant, or patent of the manor of Livingston, bears date 1686, and the colonial history of New-York, from the year 1698, to the revolution, furnishes abundant evidence of the elevated standing in public life, which was maintained during that period, as well by the first proprietor of the manor, as by his immediate descendants.

At the present day, when the advantages of a liberal education are so justly appreciated, and so readily obtained; when a diploma is considered as necessary a preliminary for the counting-house as for either the pulpit or the bar, its possession con-

fers no further distinction on an individual than what is enjoyed in common throughout the circle in which he moves; there is reason, however, to believe, that Philip Livingston participated in its benefits at a time when it was almost exclusively confined to the learned professions, and that to his early attainments may, in some measure, be attributed that deference to his opinions on subjects of general interest, which the mercantile pursuits that afterwards occupied his attention, would not alone have been calculated to inspire.

His entrance into public life was as a magistrate in the city of New York, where he settled as a merchant shortly after his marriage, and which he afterwards represented in the colonial general assembly, from 1759, to 1769, inclusive. The journals of that body, during his term of service, evince his fidelity towards his constituents and a constant regard for the interests and welfare of the colony. In 1764, he submitted to the house, in his capacity of chairman of a committee appointed for that purpose, a very animated petition to the king; which was afterwards adopted, and in which the "intimation of a design" to tax "these colonies" by laws passed in Great Britain, is made the subject of serious complaint; and, in 1768, we find his name as speaker, to an answer of the house to the celebrated Boston letter, and also, to two several memorials to the English parliament, on the subject of the existing grievances, which, in conjunction with certain explanatory resolutions, entered on the journals, occasioned the dissolution of the assembly shortly after.

The election of 1769, appears to have been warmly contested in the city and county of New York. The old members were nominated and strenuously supported by many, "for their noble and patriotic spirit, in boldly asserting and maintaining the rights and privileges of Americans."

without fee or reward; while, on the other hand, several other citizens were held up in opposition by a party, respectable both as to numbers and character, but acting apparently under the influence of feelings excited by former religious controversies between the members of the church of England and the dissenters.

At the very commencement of the contest, Mr. Livingston published his determination "not to have any agency in an election which he apprehended would be productive of the most violent heats and animosities," and persisted in this resolution notwithstanding the solicitations of both parties to dissuade him from it; another name was accordingly substituted on the old ticket, while the friends of the new candidates made a vigorous but unsuccessful attempt to accomplish their purpose by appropriating his to themselves, without his consent. He was, also, during the same year, returned as a member from the manor of Livingston, but, although the election was unanimous, it was decided by the house that his non-residence disqualified him from taking his seat. His constituents petitioned against the decision, but to no purpose. A detail of the various circumstances which characterized the life of Mr. Livingston, from the last mentioned period until the year 1774, would be but a record of those events which preceded and terminated in the meeting of the continental congress, as he invariably took an active part in all those measures adopted by his fellow-citizens, the object of which was to obtain redress for past grievances, or prevent their recurrence for the future. An incident, however, occurred, a few days previous to his first election to the proposed congress, which may be worthy of notice from the evidence it furnishes that the conduct of Mr. Livingston, and of his colleagues, was influenced by liberal and independent views, becoming statesmen, and not by

motives of sectional interests or individual popularity. Shortly after his nomination as a delegate in May, 1774, a letter, signed by several gentlemen, was directed to him, in conjunction with John Jay, John Allsop, Isaac Low, and James Duane, in which they were requested, "in order to avoid the inconveniences that may arise from a contested election," to state, explicitly, whether they "would engage to use their utmost endeavours at the proposed congress, that an agreement not to import goods from Great Britain, until the American grievances should be redressed, should be entered into by the colonies;" in answer to which they observed, that they would do every thing in their power, which, in their opinion, would be conducive to the general interests of the colonies, and that, *at present*, they thought the proposed measure the most efficacious one that could be adopted, but concluded with, "Permit us to add, that we make this declaration of our sentiments because we think it right, and not as an inducement to be favoured with your votes; nor have we the least objection in your electing any other gentlemen, as your delegates, in whom you repose greater confidence." This manly avowal was succeeded by an unanimous election, and when the time approached for them to enter on their duties, they were escorted on the 1st of September, 1774, to the vessel in which they embarked for Philadelphia, with all those testimonials of respect, to which their character and their cause so justly entitled them.

From the year 1774 to 1778, Mr. Livingston was zealous and indefatigable in attending to his congressional duties, either as a representative from the colony, or the state of New York, although he was in the mean time also called on to assist in the formation of a state government, and to perform other public duties of a more local description. On the 22d of November, 1774, he was elected a

member of the association formed agreeably to a resolve of congress, to abstain from importation, &c.

In congress, he was appointed, (October 11th, 1774,) together with Messrs. Lee and Jay, to prepare a memorial to the people of British America, and an address to the people of Great Britain. On the 20th April, 1775, he was chosen president of the "Provincial Congress," assembled in New-York, for the purpose of electing out of their body, delegates to the next continental congress; and was one of the delegates. On the 8th May, 1775, he, together with his colleagues, left the city for Philadelphia, "attended by a great train to the ferry, of whom, about 500 gentlemen, including 200 as militia under arms, crossed over with them. On the 1st February, 1776, he, together with John Allsop, John Jay and Alexander M'Dougal, were unanimously elected to serve for the city and county in the next general assembly." On the 16th of the ensuing April, he was elected one of the delegates to serve in the next provincial congress; and in June, 1776, he was one of the delegates then elected to serve in the provincial congress the ensuing year; with the additional power of forming a new government for the colony of New York. He was not, however, destined to witness the termination of a conflict, in the prosecution of which he had thus far redeemed the sacred pledge by which he stood committed to his country. In May, 1778, he left his family, with a presentiment that what, to them appeared a temporary, would in fact be a final separation; and shortly after, having resumed his seat in congress, then sitting in York, town, Pennsylvania, he was followed to the grave by that body, whose character for wisdom, firmness and integrity, he had contributed towards establishing: whose fame has ere this been recorded in the histories of other nations than our own, and whose actions, when compared with the events of

preceding ages, may justify an American in exclaiming:

"Prisco juvent alios: ego me nunc denique natum gratulor."

Mr. Livingston is still remembered by many in the state of New York, as a man who, under an austere and even stern demeanour, possessed and exhibited most of those qualities, which contribute to the pleasure, and insure the happiness of the domestic circle: and who, in his intercourse with society, was distinguished by quickness of perception, and frankness of expression, united to a sound judgment and persevering habits.

As one of the founders of our independence, he foresaw the difficulties and sacrifices that were to be encountered, and proceeded in its earliest stages with a degree of prudence and circumspection, which were warranted by his age and experience, and which served as a check on the more animated career of some of his youthful associates; when, however, "in the course of human events it became necessary to *dissolve* the political bands" which connected this country with Great Britain, neither considerations of personal convenience, nor the probable loss of fortune, were sufficient to prevent him from prosecuting, with ardour, a cause in which moderation and forbearance had hitherto been ineffectually tried; and but a short time previous to his death, he gave a proof of his devotion to it, by selling a portion of his private estate to support the public credit.

MARION, FRANCIS, colonel in the regular service, and brigadier-general in the militia of South Carolina, was born in the vicinity of Georgetown, in South Carolina, in the year 1733.

Young Marion, at the age of sixteen, entered on board a vessel bound to the West Indies, with a determination to fit himself for a seafaring life. On his outward passage, the vessel was upset in a gale

of wind, when the crew took to their boat without water or provisions, it being impracticable to save any of either. A dog jumped into the boat with the crew, and upon his flesh, eaten raw, did the survivors of these unfortunate men subsist for seven or eight days; in which period several died of hunger.

Among the few who escaped was young Marion. After reaching land, Marion relinquished his original plan of life, and engaged in the labours of agriculture. In this occupation he continued until 1759, when he became a soldier, and was appointed a lieutenant in a company of volunteers, raised for an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, commanded by captain William Moultrie, (since general Moultrie.) This expedition was conducted by governor Lyttleton: it was followed in a year or two afterwards by another invasion of the Cherokee country by colonel Grant, who served as major-general in our war under sir William Howe.

In this last expedition lieutenant Marion also served, having been promoted to the rank of captain. As soon as the war broke out between the colonies and the mother country, Marion was called to the command of a company in the first corps raised by the state of South Carolina. He was soon afterwards promoted to a majority, and served in that rank under colonel Moultrie, in his intrepid defence of fort Moultrie, against the combined attack of sir Henry Clinton and sir H. Parker, on the 2d of June, 1776. He was afterwards placed at the head of a regiment as lieutenant colonel commandant, in which capacity he served during the siege of Charleston; when, having fractured his leg by some accident, he became incapable of military duty, and fortunately for his country, escaped the captivity to which the garrison was, in the sequel. forced to submit.

Upon the fall of Charleston, many of the lead-

ing men of the state of South Carolina sought personal safety, with their adherents, in the adjoining states. Delighted at the present prospect, these faithful and brave citizens hastened back to their country to share in the perils and toils of war.

Among them were Francis Marion and Thomas Sumpter; both colonels in the South Carolina line, and both promoted by governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier general in the militia of the state. Enthusiastically wedded to the cause of liberty, he deeply deplored the doleful condition of his beloved country. The common weal was his sole object; nothing selfish, nothing mercenary, soiled his ermin character. Fertile in stratagem, he struck unperceived; and retiring to those hidden retreats, selected by himself, in the morasses of Pedee and Black River, he placed his corps not only out of the reach of his foe, but often out of the discovery of his friends. A rigid disciplinarian, he reduced to practice the justice of his heart; and during the difficult course of warfare, through which he passed, calumny itself never charged him with violating the rights of person, property, or of humanity. Never avoiding danger, he never rashly sought it; and acting for all around him as he did for himself, he risked the lives of his troops only when it was necessary. Never elated with prosperity, nor depressed by adversity, he preserved an equanimity which won the admiration of his friends, and exacted the respect of his enemies. The country, from Camden to the sea-coast, between the Pedee and Santee rivers, was the theatre of his exertions.

When Charleston fell into the enemy's hands, lieutenant-colonel Marion abandoned his state, and took shelter in North Carolina. The moment he recovered from the fracture of his leg, he engaged in preparing the means of annoying the enemy then in the flood-tide of prosperity. With sixteen

men only, he crossed the Santee, and commenced that daring system of warfare which so much annoyed the British army.

Colonel Peter Horry, in his life of general Marion, gives the following interesting incident:—
“About this time we received a flag from the enemy in Georgetown, South Carolina, the object of which was to make some arrangements about the exchange of prisoners. The flag, after the usual ceremony of blindfolding, was conducted into Marion’s encampment. Having heard *great talk* about general Marion, his fancy had naturally enough sketched out for him some stout figure of a warrior, such as O’Hara, or Cornwallis himself, of martial aspect and flaming regimentals. But what was his surprise, when led into Marion’s presence, and the bandage taken from his eyes, he beheld, in our hero, a swarthy, smoke-dried little man, with scarcely enough of thread-bare homespun to cover his nakedness! and, instead of tall ranks of gay-dressed soldiers, a handful of sunburnt, yellow-legged militia-men; some roasting potatoes, and some asleep, with their black firelocks, and powder-horns lying by them on the logs. Having recovered a little from his surprise, he presented his letter to general Marion, who perused it, and soon settled every thing to his satisfaction.

The officer took up his hat to retire.’

‘Oh no!’ said Marion, ‘it is now about our time of dining; and I hope, sir, you will give us the pleasure of your company to dinner.’

At mention of the word *dinner*, the British officer looked around him, but to his great mortification, could see no sign of a pot, pan, Dutch oven, or any other cooking utensil, that could raise the spirits of a hungry man.

‘Well Tom,’ said the general to one of his men, ‘come, give us our dinner.’

The dinner to which he alluded, was no other than a heap of sweet potatoes, that were very snugly roasting under the embers, and which Tom, with his pine stick poker, soon liberated from their ashy confinement; pinching them every now and then with his fingers, especially the big ones, to see whether they were well done or not. Then having cleansed them of the ashes, partly by blowing them with his breath, and partly by brushing them with the sleeve of his old cotton shirt, he piled some of the best on a large piece of bark, and placed them between the British officer and Marion, on the trunk of the fallen pine on which they sat.

‘I fear, sir,’ said the general, ‘our dinner will not prove so palatable to you as I could wish; but it is the best we have.’

The officer, who was a well bred man, took up one of the potatoes and affected to feed, as if he had found a great dainty; but it was very plain that he ate more from good manners than good appetite.

Presently he broke out into a hearty laugh.—Marion looked surprised. ‘I beg pardon, general,’ said he, ‘but one cannot, you know, always command one’s conceits. I was thinking how drolly some of my brother officers would look, if our government were to give them such a bill of fare as this.’

‘I suppose,’ replied Marion, ‘it is not equal to their style of dining.’

‘No, indeed,’ quoth the officer, ‘and this, I imagine, is one of your accidental lent dinners: a sort of *ban yan*. In general, no doubt, you live a great deal better.’

‘Rather worse,’ answered the general, ‘for often we don’t get enough of this.’

‘Heavens!’ rejoined the officer, ‘But probably what you lose in *meal* you make up in *malt*, though stinted in *provisions*, you draw noble *pay*.’

'*Not a cent, sir,*' said Marion, '*not a cent.*'

'Heavens and earth! then you must be in a bad box. I don't see, general, how you can stand it.'

'Why, sir,' replied Marion, with a smile of self-approbation, 'these things depend on feeling.'

The Englishman said, 'he did not believe it would be an easy matter to reconcile *his feelings* to a soldier's life on general Marion's terms: *all fighting, no pay, and no provisions, but potatoes.*'

'Why, sir,' answered the general, 'the *heart is all*; and when that is much interested, a man can do any thing. Many a youth would think it hard to indent himself a slave for fourteen years.— But let him be over head and ears in love, and with such a beauteous sweetheart as Rachel, and he will think no more of fourteen years servitude than young Jacob did. Well, now this is exactly my case. I am in love; and my sweetheart is **LIBERTY**. Be that heavenly nymph my champion, and these woods shall have charms beyond London and Paris in slavery. To have no proud monarch driving over me with his guilt coaches; nor his host of excisemen and tax-gatherers, insulting and robbing; but to be my own master, my own prince and sovereign; gloriously preserving my national dignity, and pursuing my true happiness; planting my vineyards, and eating their luscious fruit; sowing my fields, and reaping the golden grain; and seeing millions of brothers all around me, equally free and happy as myself.— This, sir, is what I long for.'

The officer replied, that both as a man and a Briton, he must certainly subscribe to this as a happy state of things.

'*Happy,*' quoth Marion, 'yes, happy indeed; and I would rather fight for such blessings for my country, and feed on roots, than keep aloof though wallowing in all the luxuries of Solomon. For now, sir, I walk the soil that gave me birth, and

exult in the thought that I am not unworthy of it. I look upon these venerable trees around me, and feel that I do not dishonour them. I think of my own sacred rights, and rejoice that I have not basely deserted them. And when I look forward to the long, long ages of posterity, I glory in the thought that I am fighting their battles. The children of distant generations may never hear my name; but still it gladdens my heart to think that I am now contending for *their freedom*, with all its countless blessings.'

I looked at Marion as he uttered these sentiments, and fancied I felt as when I heard the last words of the brave de Kalb. The Englishman hung his honest head and looked, I thought, as if he had seen the upbraiding ghosts of his illustrious countrymen, Sidney and Hamden.

On his return to Georgetown, he was asked by colonel Watson why he looked so serious?

'I have cause, sir,' said he, 'to look so serious.'

'What! has general Marion refused to treat?'

'No, sir.'

'Well, then, has old Washington defeated sir Henry Clinton, and broke up our army?'

'No, sir, not that neither; but *worse*.'

'Ah! what can be worse?'

'Why, sir, I have seen an American general and his officers, *without pay*, and almost *without clothes*, living on *roots*, and drinking *water*; and all for LIBERTY!! What chance have we against such men?'

It is said colonel Watson was not much obliged to him for his speech. But the young officer was so struck with Marion's sentiments, that he never rested until he threw up his commission, and retired from the service."

General Marion was, in stature, of the smallest size, thin as well as low. His visage was not pleasing, and his manners not captivating. He was

reserved and silent, entering into conversation only when necessary, and then with modesty and good sense.

He possessed a strong mind, improved by its own reflections and observations, not by books or travel. His dress was like his address; plain, regarding comfort and decency only. In his meals he was abstemious, eating generally of one dish, and drinking water mostly.

He was sedulous and constant in his attention to the duties of his station, to which every other consideration yielded.

The procurement of subsistence for his men, and the contrivance of annoyance to his enemy, engrossed his entire mind. He was virtuous all over; never, even in manner, much less in reality, did he trench upon right. Beloved by his friends, and respected by his enemies, he exhibited a luminous example of the beneficial effects to be produced by an individual, who, with only small means at his command, possesses a virtuous heart, a strong head, and a mind devoted to the common good. After the war the general married, but had no issue. He died in February, 1795, leaving behind him an indisputable title to the first rank among the patriots and soldiers of our revolution.

MIFFLIN, THOMAS, a major-general in the American army, during the revolutionary war, and governor of Pennsylvania, was born in the year 1744, of parents who were quakers. His education was intrusted to the care of the reverend Dr. Smith, with whom he was connected in habits of cordial intimacy and friendship, for more than forty years. Active and zealous, he engaged early in opposition to the measures of the British parliament. He was a member of the first congress in 1774. He took arms, and was among the first officers commissioned on the organization of the continental army, being appointed quarter-master.

general in August, 1765. For this offence he was read out of the society of Quakers. In 1777, he was very useful in animating the militia, and enkindling the spirit, which seemed to have been damped. His sanguine disposition and his activity rendered him insensible to the value of that coolness and caution, which were essential to the preservation of such an army, as was then under the command of general Washington. In 1787, he was a member of the convention, which framed the constitution of the United States, and his name is affixed to that instrument. In October, 1788, he succeeded Franklin as president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, in which station he continued till October, 1790. In September a constitution for this state was formed by a convention, in which he presided, and he was chosen the first governor. In 1794, during the insurrection in Pennsylvania, he employed, to the advantage of his country, the extraordinary powers of elocution, with which he was endowed. The imperfection of the militia laws was compensated by his eloquence. He made a circuit through the lower counties, and, at different places, publicly addressed the militia on the crisis in the affairs of their country, and through his animating exhortations, the state furnished the quota required. He was succeeded in the office of governor by Mr. McKean, at the close of the year 1799, and he died at Lancaster, January 20, 1800, in the 57th year of his age. He was an active and zealous patriot, who had devoted much of his life to the public service.

MONTGOMERY, RICHARD, a major-general in the army of the United States, in the revolutionary war, was born in the north of Ireland, in the year 1737. He possessed an excellent genius, which was matured by a fine education. Entering the army of Great Britain, he successfully fought

her battles with Wolfe, at Quebec, 1759, and on the very spot, where he was doomed to fall, when fighting against her, under the banners of freedom. After his return to England, he quitted his regiment in 1772, though in a fair way to preferment. He had imbibed an attachment to America, viewing it as the rising seat of arts and freedom. After his arrival in this country, he purchased an estate in New York, about a hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of judge Livingston. He now considered himself as an American. When the struggle with Great Britain commenced, as he was known to have an ardent attachment to liberty, and had expressed his readiness to draw his sword on the side of the colonies, the command of the continental forces in the northern department was intrusted to him and general Schuyler, in the fall of 1775. By the indisposition of Schuyler, the chief command devolved upon him in October. He reduced fort Chamblee, and on the 3d of November, captured St. Johns. On the 12th he took Montreal. In December, he joined colonel Arnold, and marched to Quebec. The city was besieged, and on the last day of the year, it was determined to make an assault. The several divisions were accordingly put in motion in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which concealed them from the enemy. Montgomery advanced at the head of the New York troops, along the St. Lawrence, and having assisted with his own hands in pulling up the pickets, which obstructed his approach to one of the barriers, that he was determined to force, he was pushing forwards, when one of the guns of the battery was discharged, and he was killed with his two aids. This was the only gun that was fired; for the enemy had been struck with consternation, and all but one or two had fled. But this event probably prevented the capture of Quebec. When he fell, Montgomery was in a

narrow passage, and his body rolled upon the ice, which formed by the side of the river. After it was found the next morning among the slain, it was buried by a few soldiers without any marks of distinction. He was thirty-eight years of age. He was a man of great military talents, whose measures were taken with judgment and executed with vigour. With undisciplined troops, who were jealous of him in the extreme, he yet inspired them with his own enthusiasm. He shared with them in all their hardships, and thus prevented their complaints. His industry could not be wearied, nor his vigilance imposed upon, nor his courage intimidated. Above the pride of opinion, when a measure was adopted by the majority, though contrary to his judgment, he gave it his full support.

The following character of general Montgomery, we copy from Ramsay's history of the American revolution:

"Few men have ever fallen in battle, so much regretted by both sides, as general Montgomery.—His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem.—Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune, and the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war, instituted for the defence of the community of which he was an adopted member. His well known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America, he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain, as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that assembly, displayed their

eloquence in sounding his praise and lamenting his fate. Those in particular who had been his fellow soldiers in the late war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself acknowledged his worth, while he reprobated the cause for which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric, by saying, "Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country."

To express the high sense entertained by his country, of his services, congress directed a monument of white marble, with the following inscription on it, and which was placed in front of St. Paul's church, New York.

THIS MONUMENT

Was erected by order of
Congress, 25th January, 1776,
To transmit to posterity
A grateful remembrance of the
Patriotism, conduct, enterprize, and
Perseverance

OF MAJOR GENERAL

RICHARD MONTGOMERY;

Who, after a series of success,
Amidst the most discouraging difficulties,
Fell in the attack
On Quebec

31st December, 1775,

Aged 39 years.

The remains of general Montgomery, after resting 42 years at Quebec, by a resolve of the state of New-York, were brought to the city of New-York, on the 8th of July, 1818, and deposited, with ample form and grateful ceremonies, near the aforesaid monument in St. Paul's church.

The remains were deposited in a most splendid mahogany coffin, with the following inscription, elegantly engraved upon a silver plate, placed on its lid:

THE STATE OF NEW YORK,
IN HONOUR OF
GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY,
Who fell gloriously fighting for the
INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERTY OF THE UNITED
STATES,

Before the walls of Quebec, the 31st day of
 December, 1775, caused these remains
 Of this distinguished Hero to
 Be conveyed from Quebec,
 And deposited on the eighth day of July, 1818,
 In St. Paul's Church, in the city of
 New York, near the monument
 Erected to his memory

BY THE UNITED STATES.

This patriotic act of the State of New York, redounds much to its honour.

PUTNAM, ISRAEL, a major general in the army of the United States, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7, 1718. His mind was vigorous, but it was never cultivated by education.—When he for the first time went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size. After bearing his sarcasms until his good nature was entirely exhausted, he attacked and vanquished the unmannerly fellow to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. In running, leaping and wrestling, he almost always bore away the prize. In 1739, he removed to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he cultivated a considerable tract of land. He had however to encounter many difficulties, and among his troubles the depredations of wolves upon his sheepfold was not the least. In one night seventy fine sheep and goats were killed. A she wolf, who, with her annual whelps had for several years infested the vicinity, being considered as the principal cause of the havoc, Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with a number of his neighbours to hunt alternately, till they should destroy her.

At length the hounds drove her into her den, and a number of persons soon collected with guns, straw, fire and sulphur, to attack the common enemy.— But the dogs were afraid to approach her, and the fumes of brimstone could not force her from the cavern. It was now ten o'clock at night. Mr. Putnam proposed to his black servant to descend into the cave and shoot the wolf; but, as the negro declined, he resolved to do it himself. Having divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back at a concerted signal, he entered the cavern, head foremost, with a blazing torch, made of strips of birch bark, in his hand. He descended fifteen feet, passed along horizontally ten feet, and then began the gradual ascent, which is sixteen feet in length. He slowly proceeded on his hands and knees in an abode, which was silent as the house of death. Cautiously glancing forwards, he discovered the glaring eyeballs of the wolf, who started at the sight of his torch, gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. He immediately kicked the rope, and was drawn out with a friendly celerity and violence, which not a little bruised him. Loading his gun with nine buckshot, and carrying it in one hand, while he held the torch with the other, he descended a second time. As he approached the wolf, she howled, rolled her eyes, snapped her teeth, dropped her head between her legs, and was evidently on the point of springing at him. At this moment he fired at her head, and soon found himself drawn out of the cave. Having refreshed himself, he again descended, and seizing the wolf by her ears kicked the rope, and his companions above, with no small exultation, dragged them both out together.

During the French war, he was appointed to command a company of the first troops which were raised in Connecticut, in 1755. He rendered much

service to the army in the neighbourhood of Crew point.

When general Amherst was marching across the country to Canada, the army coming to one of the lakes, which they were obliged to pass, found the French had an armed vessel of twelve guns upon it. He was in great distress, his boats were no match for hers, and she alone was capable of sinking his whole army in that situation. While he was pondering what should be done, Putnam comes to him, and says, "*General, that ship must be taken.*" "Aye," says Amherst, "I would give the world she was taken." "I'll take her," says Putnam. Amherst smiled, and asked how? "Give me some wedges, a beetle, (a large wooden hammer, or maul, used for driving wedges,) and a few men of my own choice." Amherst could not conceive how an armed vessel was to be taken by four or five men, a beetle and wedges. However, he granted Putnam's request. When night came, Putnam, with his materials and men, went in a boat under the vessel's stern, and in an instant, drove in the wedges behind the rudder, in a little cavity between the rudder and ship, and left her. In the morning, the sails were seen fluttering about: she was adrift in the middle of the lake; and being presently blown ashore, was easily taken.

He was ploughing in his field, in 1775, when he heard the news of the battle of Lexington. He immediately unyoked his team, left his plough on the spot, and, without changing his clothes set off for Cambridge. He soon went back to Connecticut, levied a regiment, and repaired again to the camp.

Among other examples that might be related, the following is from a living witness. The day that the report of this affair reached Barnstable, a company of militia immediately assembled and marched off to Cambridge. In the front rank,

there was a young man, the son of a respectable farmer, and his only child. In marching from the village, as they passed his house, he came out to meet them. There was a momentary halt. The drum and fife paused for an instant. The father, suppressing a strong and evident emotion, said, "God be with you all, my friends! and John, if you, my son, are called into battle, take care that you behave like a man; or else let me never see your face again!" A tear started into every eye, and the march was resumed.

In a little time he was promoted to the rank of major-general. In the battle of Bunker's hill, he exhibited his usual intrepidity. He directed the men to reserve their fire till the enemy was very near, reminded them of their skill, and told them to take good aim. They did so, and the execution was terrible. After the retreat, he made a stand at Winter hill, and drove back the enemy under cover of their ships. When the army was organized by general Washington at Cambridge, Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In August, 1776, he was stationed at Brooklyn, on Long Island. After the defeat of our army on the 27th of that month, he went to New York, and was very serviceable in the city and neighbourhood. In October, or November, he was sent to Philadelphia to fortify that city. In January, 1777, he was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until spring. At this place, a sick prisoner, a captain, requested that a friend in the British army at Brunswick, might be sent for, to assist him in making his will. Putnam was perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command, and he did not wish to have his weakness known; yet he was unwilling to deny the request. He, however, sent a flag of truce, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening, lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every

apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The officer, on his return, reported that general Putnam's army, could not consist of less than 4 or 5000 men. In the spring, he was appointed to the command of a separate army, in the highlands of New York. One Palmer, a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp: governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, threatening vengeance if he was not restored. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply:

"SIR, Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a spy; he was tried as a spy; he was condemned as a spy; and he shall be hanged as a spy.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM."

"P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

After the loss of fort Montgomery, the commander-in-chief determined to build another fortification, and he directed Putnam to fix upon a spot. To him belongs the praise of having chosen West-Point. The campaign of 1779, which was principally spent in strengthening the works at this place, finished the military career of Putnam. A paralytic affection impaired the activity of his body, and he passed the remainder of his days in retirement, retaining his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantries, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind. He died at Brookline, Connecticut, May 29, 1790, aged 72 years.

REED, JOSEPH, President of the state of Pennsylvania, born in the state of New-Jersey, the 27th of August, A. D. 1741. In the year 1757, at the early age of sixteen, he graduated with considerable honour, at Princeton college. Having studied the law with Richard Stockton, Esquire, an eminent counsellor of that place, he visited England and pursued his studies in the temple, until the disturbances which first broke out in the colonies

on the passage of the stamp act. On his return to his native country, he commenced the practice of the law, and bore a distinguished part in the political commotions of the day. Having married the daughter of Dennis De Berdt, an eminent merchant of London, and before the American revolution, agent for the province of Massachusetts, he soon after returned to America and practised the law with eminent success in the city of Philadelphia. Finding that reconciliation with the mother country was not to be accomplished without the sacrifice of honour as well as liberty, he became one of the most zealous advocates of independence. In 1774, he was appointed one of the committee of correspondence of Philadelphia, and afterwards president of the convention, and, subsequently, member of the continental congress. On the formation of the army he resigned a lucrative practice, which he was enjoying at Philadelphia, and repaired to the camp at Cambridge, where he was appointed aid-de-camp and secretary to general Washington, and although merely acting as a volunteer, he displayed in this campaign, on many occasions, the greatest courage and military ability. At the opening of the campaign in 1776, on the promotion of general Gates, he was advanced, at the special recommendation of general Washington, to the post of adjutant-general, and bore an active part in this campaign, his local knowledge of the country being eminently useful in the affair at Trenton, and at the battle of Princeton: in the course of these events, and the constant follower of his fortunes, he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the commander in chief. At the end of the year he resigned the office of adjutant-general, and was immediately appointed a general officer, with a view to the command of cavalry, but owing to the difficulty of raising troops, and the very detached parties in which they were employed, he

was prevented from acting in that station. He still attended the army, and from the entrance of the British army into Pennsylvania, till the close of the campaign in 1777, he was seldom absent. He was engaged at the battle of Germantown, and at White Marsh assisted general Potter in drawing up the militia. In 1778, he was appointed a member of Congress and signed the articles of confederation. About this time the British commissioners, governor Johnstone, lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, invested with power to treat of peace, arrived in America, and governor Johnstone, the principal of them, addressed private letters to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, Francis Dana, and Robert Morris, offering them many advantages in case they would lend themselves to his views. Private information was communicated from governor Johnstone to general Reed, that, in case he would exert his abilities to promote a reconciliation, 10,000 pounds sterling and the most valuable office in the colonies, were at his disposal; to which Mr. Reed made this memorable reply: "*that he was not worth purchasing, but that, such as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it.*" These transactions caused a resolution in congress, by which they refused to hold any further communication with that commissioner. Governor Johnstone, on his return to England, denied in parliament, ever having made such offers, in consequence of which general Reed published a pamphlet in which the whole transaction was clearly and satisfactorily proved, and which was extensively circulated both in England and America.

In 1778, he was unanimously elected president of the supreme executive council of the state of Pennsylvania, to which office he was elected annually, with equal unanimity, for the constitutional period of three years. About this time there existed violent parties in the state, and several serious commotions

occurred, particularly a large armed insurrection in the city of Philadelphia, which he suppressed, and rescued a number of distinguished citizens from the most imminent danger of their lives at the risk of his own, for which he received a vote of thanks from the legislature of the state.

At the time of the defection of the Pennsylvania line, governor Reed exerted himself strenuously to bring back the revolvers, in which he ultimately succeeded. Amidst the most difficult and trying scenes, his administration exhibited the most disinterested zeal and firmness of decision. In the civil part of his character, his knowledge of the law was very useful in a new and unsettled government: so that, although he found in it no small weakness and confusion, he left it at the expiration of his term of office, in as much tranquility and energy as could be expected from the time and circumstances of the war. In the year 1781, on the expiration of his term of office, he returned to the duties of his profession.

General Reed was very fortunate in his military career, for, although he was in almost every engagement in the northern and eastern section of the union, during the war, he never was wounded; he had three horses killed under him, one at the battle of Brandywine, one in the skirmish at White Marsh, and one at the battle of Monmouth. During the whole of the war he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of generals Washington, Greene, Wayne, Steuben, la Fayette, and many other of the most distinguished characters of the revolution, with whom he was in habits of the most confidential intercourse and correspondence. The friendship that existed between general Reed and general Greene, is particularly mentioned by the biographer of general Greene. "Among the many inestimable friends who attached themselves to him, during his military career, there was no one

whom general Greene prized more, or more justly, than the late governor Reed, of Pennsylvania. It was before this gentleman had immortalized himself by his celebrated reply to the agent of corruption, that these two distinguished patriots had begun to feel for each other, the sympathies of congenial souls. Mr. Reed had accompanied general Washington to Boston, when he first took command of the American army; there he became acquainted with Greene, and, as was almost invariably the case with those who became acquainted with him, and had hearts to acknowledge his worth, a friendship ensued which lasted with their lives." Had the life of general Reed been sufficiently prolonged, he would have discharged, in a manner worthy of the subject, the debt of national gratitude to which the efforts of the biographer of general Greene have been successfully dedicated, who had in his possession the outlines of a sketch of the life of general Greene by this friend.

In the year 1784, he again visited England for the sake of his health, but his voyage was attended with but little effect, as in the following year he fell a victim to a disease, most probably brought on by the fatigue and exposure to which he was constantly subjected. In private life, he was accomplished in his manners, pure in his morals, fervent and faithful in his attachments.

On the 5th of March, 1785, in the 43d year of his age, too soon for his country and his friends, he departed a life, active, useful, and glorious. His remains were interred in the Presbyterian ground, in Arch street, in the city of Philadelphia, attended by the president and executive council, and the speaker and the general assembly of the state.

WARREN, JOSEPH, a major-general in the American army, during the revolutionary war, was born in Roxbury, near Boston, in 1740, and

was graduated at Harvard college, in 1759.— Directing his attention to medical studies, he, in a few years, became one of the most eminent physicians in Boston. But he lived at a period when greater objects claimed his attention, than those which related particularly to his profession. His country needed his efforts, and his zeal and courage would not permit him to shrink from any labours or dangers. His eloquence and his talents as a writer, were displayed on many occasions, from the year in which the stamp act was passed, to the commencement of the war. He was a bold politician. While many were wavering with regard to the measures which should be adopted, he contended that every kind of taxation, whether external or internal, was tyranny, and ought immediately to be resisted; and he believed that America was able to withstand any force that could be sent against her. From the year 1768, he was a principal member of the secret meeting or caucus in Boston, which had great influence on the concerns of the country. With all his boldness, and decision, and zeal, he was circumspect and wise. In this assembly the plans of defence were matured. After the destruction of the tea, it was no longer kept a secret. He was twice chosen the public orator of the town, on the anniversary of the massacre, and his orations breathed the energy of a great and daring mind. It was he, who, on the evening before the battle of Lexington, obtained information of the intended expedition against Concord, and at ten o'clock at night dispatched an express to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at Lexington, to warn them of their danger. He himself, on the next day, the memorable 19th of April, was very active. It is said in general Heath's memoirs, that a ball took off part of his ear-lock. In the confused state of the army, which soon assembled at Cambridge, he had vast influence in

preserving order among the troops. After the departure of Hancock to congress he was chosen president of the provincial congress in his place. Four days previous to the battle of Bunker's or Breed's hill. he received his commission of major-general. When the intrenchments were made upon the fatal spot, to encourage the men within the lines, he went down from Cambridge and joined them as a volunteer, on the eventful day of the battle, June 17th. Just as the retreat commenced, a ball struck him on the head, and he died in the trenches, aged 35 years. He was the first victim of rank that fell in the struggle with Great Britain. In the spring of 1776, his bones were taken up and entombed in Boston, on which occasion, as he had been grand master of the freemasons in America, a brother mason, and an eloquent orator, pronounced a funeral eulogy.

In this action, the number of Americans engaged amounted only to 1500. The loss of the British, as acknowledged by general Gage, amounted to 1054. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and 70 more were wounded. The battle of Quebec, in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers, as this affair of a slight intrenchment, the work only of a few hours.

The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to 139. Their wounded and missing to 314. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of general Warren. To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman.

Thus was cut off in the flower of his age, this gallant hero, loved, lamented, the theme of universal regret; a loss, at any time deeply, but then, most

poignantly felt. Though he did not outlive the glories of that great occasion, he had lived long enough for fame. It needed no other herald of his actions than the simple testimony of the historian, that Warren fell, foremost in the ranks of that war which he had justified by his argument, supported by his energy, and signalized by his prowess. The monument erected by his fellow citizens, on the spot where he poured out his latest breath, commemorates at once his achievement and a people's gratitude. Though untimely was his fall, and though a cloud of sorrow overspread every countenance at the recital of his fate, yet if the love of fame be the noblest passion of the human mind, and human nature pant for distinction in the martial field, perhaps there never was a moment of more unfading glory, offered to the wishes of the brave, than that which marked the exit of this heroic officer. Still, who will not lament that he incautiously courted the post of danger, while more important occasions required a regard to personal safety?

Perhaps his fall was as useful to his country, as it was glorious to himself. His death served to adorn the cause for which he contended, excited emulation, and gave a pledge of perseverance and ultimate success. In the grand sacrifice, of which a new nation was that day to celebrate in the face of the world, to prove their sincerity to Heaven, whose Providence they had invoked, the noblest victim was the most suitable sacrifice.

There are few names in the annals of American patriotism more dearly cherished by the brave and good; few that will shine with more increasing lustre, as the obscurity of time grows darker, than that of general Warren. He will be the personal representative of those brave citizens, who with arms hastily collected, sprang from their peaceable homes to resist aggression, and on the plains of

Lexington and the heights of Charlestown, cemented with their blood the foundation of American liberty.

He was endowed with a clear and vigorous understanding, a disposition humane and generous; qualities which, graced by manners affable and engaging, rendered him the idol of the army and of his friends. His powers of speech and reasoning commanded respect. His professional as well as political abilities were of the highest order. He had been an active volunteer in several skirmishes which had occurred since the commencement of hostilities, in all of which he gave strong presages of capacity and distinction in the profession of arms. But the fond hopes of his country were to be closed in death; not, however, until he had sealed with his blood the charter of our liberties; not until he had secured that permanence of glory with which we encircle the memory, whilst we cherish the name, of WARREN.

The battle of Bunker Hill was, in many respects, one of the most remarkable conflicts that has moistened the earth with human blood. No spirit of prophecy is required to foretel, that from the consequences with which it is connected, and which it may be said to have guaranteed, after ages will consider it one of the most interesting of all battles, and that it will be hallowed by the gratitude of mankind, as among the most precious and beneficent contests ever waged in behalf of human rights and human happiness.

Dr. Warren published an oration in 1772, and another in 1775, commemorative of the 5th of March, 1770.

WASHINGTON, GEORGE, commander in chief of the American army, during the revolutionary war with Great Britain, and first president of the United States, was the third son of Mr. Augustine Washington, and was born at Bridges creek, in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, February 22.

1732. His great grandfather had emigrated to that place from the north of England, about the year 1657. At the age of ten years, he lost his father, and the patrimonial estate descended to his elder brother, Mr. Lawrence Washington, who, in the year 1740, had been engaged in the expedition against Carthagera. In honour of the British admiral, who commanded the fleet employed in that enterprise, the estate was called Mount Vernon. At the age of fifteen, agreeably to the wishes of his brother, as well as to his own urgent request to enter into the British navy, the place of a midshipman in a vessel of war, then stationed on the coast of Virginia, was obtained for him. Every thing was in readiness for his departure, when the fears of a timid and affectionate mother prevailed upon him to abandon his proposed career on the ocean, and were the means of retaining him upon the land, to be the future vindicator of his country's rights. All the advantages of education which he enjoyed, were derived from a private tutor, who instructed him in English literature and the general principles of science, as well as in morality and religion. After his disappointment, with regard to entering the navy, he devoted much of his time to the study of the mathematics; and in the practice of his profession as a surveyor, he had an opportunity of acquiring that information, respecting the value of vacant lands, which, afterwards, greatly contributed to the increase of his private fortune. At the age of nineteen, when the militia of Virginia were to be trained for actual service, he was appointed an adjutant-general with the rank of major. It was for a very short time, that he discharged the duties of that office. In the year 1753, the plan formed by France, for connecting Canada with Louisiana by a line of posts, and thus of enclosing the British colonies, and of establishing her influence over the numerous tribes of

Indians on the frontiers, began to be developed. In the prosecution of this design possession had been taken of a tract of land, then believed to be within the province of Virginia. Mr. Dinwiddie, the lieutenant governor, being determined to remonstrate against the proposed encroachment, and violation of the treaties between the two countries, dispatched major Washington, through the wilderness to the Ohio, to deliver a letter to the commanding officer of the French, and also to explore the country. This trust of danger and fatigue he executed with great ability. He left Williamsburg, October 31, 1753, the very day on which he received his commission, and at the frontier settlement of the English, engaged guides to conduct him over the Alleghany mountains.

At a place upon the Alleghany, called Murdering town, they fell in with a hostile Indian who was one of the party then lying in wait, and who fired upon them not ten steps distant. They took him into custody and kept him until nine o'clock, and then let him go. To avoid the pursuit which they presumed would be commenced in the morning, they travelled all night. On reaching the Monongahela, they had a hard day's work to make a raft with a hatchet. In attempting to cross the river to reach a trader's house, they were enclosed by masses of ice. In order to stop the raft, major Washington put down his setting pole, but the ice came with such force against it, as to jerk him into the water. He saved himself by seizing one of the raft logs. With difficulty they landed on an island, where they passed the night. The cold was so severe, that the pilot's hands and feet were frozen. The next day they crossed the river upon the ice. Washington arrived at Williamsburg, January 16, 1754. His journal, which evinced the solidity of his judgment and his fortitude, was published.

As the French seemed disposed to remain on the Ohio, it was determined to raise a regiment of about 300 men to maintain the claims of the British crown. The command was given to Mr. Fry; and major Washington, who was appointed lieutenant colonel, marched with two companies early in April, 1754, in advance of the other troops. A few miles west of the Great Meadows, he surprised a French encampment in a dark rainy night, and only one man escaped. Before the arrival of the two remaining companies, Mr. Fry died, and the command devolved on colonel Washington. Being joined by two other companies of regular troops from South Carolina and New York, after erecting a small stockade at the Great Meadows, he proceeded towards fort du Quesne, which had been built but a short time, with the intention of dislodging the French. He had marched only thirteen miles to the western-most foot of Laurel hill, before he received information of the approach of the enemy with superior numbers, and was induced to return to his stockade. He began a ditch around it, and called it Fort Necessity; but the next day, July 3, he was attacked by fifteen hundred men. His own troops were only about four hundred in number. The action commenced at ten in the morning and lasted until dark. A part of the Americans fought within the fort, and a part in the ditch filled with mud and water. Colonel Washington was himself on the outside of the fort during the whole day. The enemy fought under cover of the trees and high grass. In the course of the night articles of capitulation were agreed upon. The garrison were allowed to retain their arms and baggage, and to march unmolested to the inhabited parts of Virginia. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was supposed to be about a hundred, and that of the enemy about two hundred. In a few months afterwards orders were

received for settling the rank of the officers, and those who were commissioned by the king being directed to take rank of the provincial officers, Colonel Washington indignantly resigned his commission. He now retired to Mount Vernon, that estate by the death of his brother, having devolved upon him. But in the spring of 1755, he accepted an invitation from general Braddock to enter his family as a volunteer aid-de-camp in his expedition to the Ohio. He proceeded with him to Will's creek, afterwards called fort Cumberland, in April. After the troops had marched a few miles from this place, he was seized with a raging fever; but refusing to remain behind, he was conveyed in a covered waggon. By his advice twelve hundred men were detached in order to reach fort du Quesne before an expected reinforcement should be received at that place. These disencumbered troops were commanded by Braddock himself, and colonel Washington, though still extremely ill, insisted upon proceeding with them. After they arrived upon the Monongahela he advised the general to employ the ranging companies of Virginia to scour the woods and prevent ambuscades; but his advice was not followed. On the ninth of July, when the army was within seven miles of the fort du Quesne, the enemy commenced a sudden and furious attack, being concealed by the wood and grass. Washington was the only aid, that was unwounded, and on him devolved the whole duty of carrying the orders of the commander in chief. He was cool and fearless. Though he had two horses shot under him, and four balls through his coat, he escaped unhurt, while every officer on horseback was either killed or wounded. Doctor Craik, the physician, who attended him on his last sickness, was present in this battle, and says, "I expected every moment to see him fall. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him

from the fate of all around him." After an action of three hours, the troops gave way in all directions, and colonel Washington and two others, brought off Braddock, who had been mortally wounded. He attempted to rally the retreating troops; but, as he says himself, it was like endeavouring "to stop the wild bears of the mountains." The conduct of the regular troops was most cowardly. The enemy were few in numbers and had no expectation of victory. In a sermon occasioned by this expedition, the reverend Dr. Davies, of Hanover county, thus prophetically expressed himself; "as a remarkable instance of patriotism I may point out to the public that heroic youth, colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country." For this purpose he was indeed preserved, and at the end of twenty years he began to render to his country more important services, than the minister of Jesus could have anticipated. From 1755, to 1758, he commanded a regiment, which was raised for the protection of the frontiers.

In July 1758, another expedition was undertaken against fort du Quesne, in which Washington commanded the Virginia troops. By slow marches they were enabled, on the 25th of November, to reach fort du Quesne, of which peaceable possession was taken, as the enemy on the preceding night setting it on fire, had abandoned it and proceeded down the Ohio. The works in this place were repaired, and its name was changed to that of Fort Pitt. Colonel Washington now resigned his commission.

Soon after his resignation he was married to the widow of Mr. Custis, a young lady, to whom he had been for some time strongly attached, and who, to a large fortune and a fine person, added those amiable accomplishments, which fill with silent

licity the scenes of domestic life. His attention for several years, was principally directed to the management of his estate, which had now become considerable. He was, at this period, a respectable member of the legislature of Virginia, in which he took a decided part in opposition to the principle of taxation, asserted by the British parliament. He also acted as a judge of a county court. In 1774, he was elected a member of the first congress, and was placed on all those committees, whose duty it was to make arrangements for defence. In the following year, after the battle of Lexington, when it was determined by congress to resort to arms, colonel Washington was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the army of the united colonies. All were satisfied as to his qualifications, and the delegates from New England were particularly pleased with his election, as it would tend to unite the southern colonies cordially in the war. He accepted the appointment with diffidence, and expressed his intention of receiving no compensation for his services, and only a mere discharge of his expenses. He immediately repaired to Cambridge, in the neighbourhood of Boston, where he arrived on the 2d of July. He formed the army into three divisions, in order, the most effectually, to inclose the enemy, intrusting the division at Roxbury to general Ward, the division on Prospect and Winter hills to general Lee, and commanding himself the centre at Cambridge. Here he had to struggle with great difficulties, with the want of ammunition, clothing, and magazines, defect of arms and discipline, and the evils of short enlistments; but instead of yielding to despondence he bent the whole force of his mind to overcome them. He soon made the alarming discovery, that there was only sufficient powder on hand to furnish the army with nine cartridges for each man. With the greatest caution, to keep this fact a se-

cret, the utmost exertions were employed to procure a supply. A vessel which was dispatched to Africa, obtained, in exchange for New England rum, all the gunpowder in the British factories; and in the beginning of winter, captain Manly captured an ordnance brig, which furnished the American army with the precise articles, of which it was in the greatest want. In September, general Washington dispatched Arnold on an expedition against Quebec. In February, 1776, he proposed to a council of his officers to cross the ice and attack the enemy in Boston, but they unanimously disapproved of the daring measure. It was, however, soon resolved to take possession of the heights of Dorchester. This was done without discovery, on the night of the 4th of March, and on the 17th the enemy found it necessary to evacuate the town. The recovery of Boston induced congress to pass a vote of thanks to general Washington and his brave army.

In the belief, that the efforts of the British would be directed towards the Hudson, he hastened the army to New York, where he himself arrived on the 14th of April. He made every exertion to fortify the city, and attention was paid to the forts in the highlands. While he met the most embarrassing difficulties, a plan was formed to assist the enemy in seizing his person, and some of his own guards engaged in the conspiracy; but it was discovered, and some, who were concerned in it, were executed. In the beginning of July, general Howe landed his troops at Staten Island, his brother, lord Howe, who commanded the fleet, soon arrived; and as both were commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, the latter addressed a letter, upon the subject, to "George Washington, esquire;" but the general refused to receive it, as it did not acknowledge the public character, with which he was invested by congress, in which char-

acter only he could have any intercourse with his lordship. Another letter was sent to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." This, for the same reason, was rejected. After the disastrous battle of Brooklyn, on the 27th of August, in which Sterling and Sullivan were taken prisoners, and of which he was only a spectator, he withdrew the troops from Long Island, and in a few days he resolved to withdraw from New York. At Kipp's bay, about three miles from the city, some works had been thrown up to oppose the enemy; but on their approach the American troops fled with precipitation. Washington rode towards the lines, and made every exertion to prevent the disgraceful flight. Such was the state of his mind at this moment, that he turned his horse towards the advancing enemy, apparently with the intention of going upon death. His aids now seized the bridle of his horse and rescued him from destruction. New York was, on the same day, September 26th, evacuated. In October he retreated to Red Bank, where, on the 28th, a considerable battle took place, in which the Americans were defeated. After the loss of forts Washington and Mifflin, he passed into New-Jersey in November, and was pursued by a triumphant and numerous army. His army did not amount to three thousand, and it was daily diminishing; his men, as the winter commenced, were barefooted and almost naked, destitute of tents and of utensils, with which to dress their scanty provisions; and every circumstance tended to fill the mind with despondance. But general Washington was undismayed and firm. He showed himself to his enfeebled army with a serene and unembarrassed countenance, and they were inspired with the resolution of their commander. On the 8th of December he was obliged to cross the Delaware; but he had the precaution to secure the boats for seventy miles upon the river. While the

British were waiting for the ice to afford them a passage, as his own army had been reinforced by several thousand men, he formed the resolution of carrying the cantonments of the enemy by surprise. On the night of the 25th of December, he crossed the river nine miles above Trenton, in a storm of snow mingled with hail and rain, with about two thousand four hundred men. Two other detachments were unable to effect a passage. In the morning, precisely at eight o'clock, he surprised Trenton, and took 1000 Hessians prisoners, 1000 stand of arms, and six field pieces. Twenty of the enemy were killed, and of the Americans, two were killed, and two frozen to death; and one officer and four privates wounded. On the same day he recrossed the Delaware, with the fruits of his enterprisc; but in two or three days passed again into New Jersey, and concentrated his forces, amounting to five thousand, at Trenton. On the approach of a superior enemy under Cornwallis, January 2, 1777, he drew up his men behind Assumpinck creek. He expected an attack in the morning, which would probably result in a ruinous defeat. At this moment, when it was hazardous, if not impracticable, to return into Pennsylvania, he formed the resolution of getting into the rear of the enemy, and thus stop them in their progress towards Philadelphia. In the night he silently decamped, taking a circuitous route through Allentown to Princeton. A sudden change of the weather to severe cold, rendered the roads favourable for his march. About sunrise his van met a British detachment on its way to join Cornwallis, and was defeated by it; but as he came up he exposed himself to every danger, and gained a victory. With 300 prisoners he then entered Princeton. During this march many of his soldiers were without shoes, and their feet left the marks of blood upon the frozen ground. This hardship and their

want of repose, induced him to lead his army to a place of security on the road to Morristown. Cornwallis in the morning broke up his camp, and alarmed for his stores at Brunswick, urged the pursuit. Thus the military genius of the American commander, under the blessing of divine Providence, rescued Philadelphia from the threatened danger, obliged the enemy, which had overspread New-Jersey, to return to the neighborhood of New-York, and revived the desponding spirit of his country. Having accomplished these objects, he retired to Morristown, where he caused his whole army to be inoculated with the small pox, and thus was freed from the apprehension of a calamity, which might impede his operations during the next campaign.

On the last of May, he removed his army to Middlebrook, about ten miles from Brunswick, where he fortified himself very strongly. An ineffectual attempt was made by sir William Howe to draw him from his position by marching towards Philadelphia: but after Howe's return to New York, he moved towards the Hudson in order to defend the passes in the mountains, in the expectation that a junction with Burgoyne, who was then upon the lakes, would be attempted. After the British general sailed from New York and entered the Chesapeake in August, general Washington marched immediately for the defence of Philadelphia. On the 11th of September he was defeated at Brandywine, with the loss of nine hundred in killed and wounded. A few days afterwards, as he was pursued, he turned upon the enemy, determined upon another engagement; but a heavy rain so damaged the arms and ammunition, that he was under the absolute necessity of again retreating. Philadelphia was entered by Cornwallis on the 26th of September. On the 4th of October, the American commander made a well planned attack upon the

British camp at Germantown; but in consequence of the darkness of the morning, and the imperfect discipline of his troops, it terminated in the loss of 1200 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. In December he went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, between twenty and thirty miles from Philadelphia. Here his army was in the greatest distress for want of provisions, and he was reduced to the necessity of sending out parties to seize what they could find. About the same time a combination was formed to remove the commander in chief, and to appoint in his place general Gates, whose successes of late had given him a high reputation. But the name of Washington was too dear to the great body of Americans to admit of such a change. Notwithstanding the discordant materials, of which his army was composed, there was something in his character, which enabled him to attach both his officers and soldiers so strongly to him, that no distress could weaken their affection, nor impair the veneration, in which he was generally held. Without this attachment to him the army must have been dissolved. General Conway, who was concerned in this faction, being wounded in a duel with general Cadwalader, and thinking his wound mortal, wrote to general Washington, "you are, in my eyes, the great and good man." On the 1st of February, 1778, there were about four thousand men in camp unfit for duty for want of clothes.—Of these scarcely a man had a pair of shoes. The hospitals also were filled with the sick. At this time the enemy, if they had marched out of their winter quarters, would easily have dispersed the American army. The apprehension of the approach of a French fleet, inducing the British to concentrate their forces, when they evacuated Philadelphia on the 17th of June, and marched towards New-York, general Washington followed them. Contrary to

the advice of a council, he engaged in the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th, the result of which made an impression favourable to the cause of America. He slept in his cloak on the field of battle, intending to renew the attack the next morning, but at midnight the British marched off in such silence, as not to be discovered. Their loss in killed was about three hundred, and that of the Americans sixty nine.

As the campaign now closed in the middle states, the American army went into winter quarters in the neighborhood of the highlands upon the Hudson. Thus after the vicissitudes of two years both armies were brought back to the point, from which they set out. During the year 1779, general Washington remained in the neighborhood of New York. In January, 1780, in a winter memorable for its severity, his utmost exertions were necessary to save the army from dissolution. The soldiers in general submitted with heroic patience to the want of provisions and clothes. At one time they eat every kind of horse food but hay. Their sufferings at length were so great, that in March two of the Connecticut regiments mutinied, but the mutiny was suppressed and the ringleaders secured. In September the treachery of Arnold was detected. In the winter of 1781, such were again the privations of the army, that a part of the Pennsylvania line revolted, and marched home. Such however was still their patriotism, that they delivered some British emissaries to general Wayne, who hanged them as spies. Committing the defence of the posts on the Hudson to general Heath, general Washington in August marched with count Rochambeau for the Chesapeake, to co-operate with the French fleet there. The siege of Yorktown commenced on the 28th of September, and on the 19th of October he reduced Cornwallis to the necessity of surrendering with upwards of seven thousand men, to the

combined armies of America and France.—The day after the capitulation he ordered, that those, who were under arrest, should be pardoned, and that divine service in acknowledgment of the interposition of Providence should be performed in all the brigades and divisions. This event filled America with joy and was the means of terminating the war.

Few events of importance took place in 1782. On the 25th November, 1783, New York was evacuated by the British, and he entered it accompanied by governor Clinton and many respectable citizens. On the 19th of April a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed. On the 4th of December, he took his farewell of his brave comrades in arms. At noon the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances' tavern, and their beloved commander soon entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass with wine, he turned to them and said "with a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." Having drank, he added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, general Washington grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the most affectionate manner he took his leave of each succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the silence and tenderness of the scene. Ye men, who delight in blood, slaves of ambition! When your work of carnage was finished, could you thus part with your companions in crime? Leaving the room, general Washington passed through the corps of light infantry and walked to Whitehall, where a barge

waited to carry him to Powles' Hook. The whole company followed in mute procession with dejected countenances. When he entered the barge he turned to them, and waving his hat bade them a silent adieu, receiving from them the same last affectionate compliment. On the 23d of December he resigned his commission to congress, then assembled at Annapolis. Here the expressions of the gratitude of his countrymen in affectionate addresses poured in upon him, and he received every testimony of respect and veneration.

In 1787, he was persuaded to take a seat in the convention which formed the present constitution of the United States. In 1789, he was unanimously elected president of the United States. In April he left Mount Vernon to proceed to New York, and to enter on the duties of his office. He every where received testimonies of respect and love. On the 13th of April he arrived at New York, and he was inaugurated first president of the United States. At the close of his first term of four years, he prepared a valedictory address to the American people, anxious to return again to the scenes of domestic life; but the earnest entreaties of his friends, and the peculiar situation of his country, induced him to be a candidate for a second election. At the expiration of his second term, he determined irrevocably to withdraw to the shades of private life. He published in September, 1796, his farewell address to the people of the United States, which ought to be engraven upon the hearts of his countrymen.

He then retired to Mount Vernon, giving to the world an example, most humiliating to its emperors and kings; the example of a man, voluntarily disrobing himself of the highest authority, and returning to private life, with a character, having upon it no stain of ambition, of covetousness, of profusion, of luxury, of oppression, or of injustice.

In 1798, an army was raised, and he was appointed commander in chief.

In December 13, 1799, while attending to some improvements upon his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, which wetted his neck and hair. Unapprehensive of danger, he passed the afternoon in his usual manner, but at night he was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some pain and a sense of stricture in the throat, a cough, and a difficult deglutition, which soon succeeded by fever and a quick and laborious respiration. About twelve or fourteen ounces of blood were taken from him. In the morning his family physician, doctor Craik, was sent for; but the utmost exertions of medical skill were applied in vain. To his friend and physician who sat on his bed, and took his head in his lap, he said, with difficulty, "Doctor I am dying, and have been dying for a long time; but I am not afraid to die." Respiration became more and more protracted and imperfect, until half past eleven on Saturday night, when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle. Thus, on the 14th of December, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, died the father of his country, "the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." This event spread a gloom over the country, and the tears of America proclaimed the services and virtues of the hero and sage, and exhibited a people not insensible to his worth.

General Washington was rather above the common stature; his frame was robust, and his constitution vigorous. His exterior created in the beholder the idea of strength united with manly gracefulness. His eyes were of a grey colour, and his complexion light. His manners were rather reserved than free. His person and whole

deportment exhibited an unaffected and indescribable dignity, unmingled with haughtiness, of which all who approached him were sensible. The attachment of those who possessed his friendship was ardent, but always respectful. His temper was humane, benevolent, and conciliatory; but there was a quickness in his sensibility to any thing apparently offensive, which experience had taught him to watch and correct.

He conducted the war with that consummate prudence and wisdom, which the situation of his country and the state of his army demanded. He also possessed a firmness of resolution, which neither dangers nor difficulties could shake.

WAYNE, ANTHONY, a major-general in the American army, occupies a conspicuous station among the heroes and patriots of the American revolution. He was born in the year 1745, in Chester county, in the state, then colony of Pennsylvania. His father, who was a respectable farmer, was many years a representative for the county of Chester, in the general assembly, before the revolution. His grandfather, who was distinguished for his attachment to the principles of liberty, bore a captain's commission under king William, at the battle of the Boyne. Anthony Wayne succeeded his father as a representative for the county of Chester, in the year 1773; and from his first appearance in public life, distinguished himself as a firm and decided patriot. He opposed, with much ability, the unjust demands of the mother country, and in connexion with some gentlemen of distinguished talents, was of material service in preparing the way for the firm and decisive part which Pennsylvania took in the general contest.

In 1775, he was appointed to the command of a regiment, which his character enabled him to raise in a few weeks, in his native county. In the same year, he was detached under general Thompson

into Canada. In the defeat which followed, in which general Thompson was made a prisoner, colonel Wayne, though wounded, displayed great gallantry and good conduct, in collecting and bringing off, the scattered and broken bodies of troops.

In the campaign of 1776, he served under general Gates, at Ticonderoga, and was highly esteemed by that officer for both his bravery and skill as an engineer. At the close of that campaign he was created a brigadier-general.

At the battle of Brandywine, he behaved with his usual bravery, and for a long time opposed the progress of the enemy at Chad's ford. In this action, the inferiority of the Americans in numbers, discipline and arms, gave them little chance of success; but the peculiar situation of the public mind was supposed to require a battle to be risked; the ground was bravely disputed, and the action was not considered as decisive. The spirits of the troops were preserved by a belief that the loss of the enemy had equalled their own. As it was the intention of the American commander in chief to hazard another action on the first favourable opportunity that should offer, general Wayne was detached with his division, to harrass the enemy by every means in his power. The British troops were encamped at Tredyffrin, and general Wayne was stationed about three miles in the rear of their left wing, near the Paoli tavern, and from the precautions he had taken, he considered himself secure; but about eleven o'clock, on the night of the 20th September, major-general Gray, having driven in his pickets, suddenly attacked him with fixed bayonets. Wayne, unable to withstand the superior number of his assailants, was obliged to retreat; but formed again at a small distance, having lost about 150 killed and wounded. As blame was attached, by some of the officers of the army, to

general Wayne, for allowing himself to be surprised in this manner, he demanded a court martial, which, after examining the necessary evidence, declared that he had done every thing to be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer; and acquitted him with honour.

A neat marble monument has been recently erected on the battle ground, to the memory of the gallant men who fell on the night of the 20th September, 1777.

Shortly after was fought the battle of Germantown, in which he greatly signalized himself, by his spirited manner of leading his men into action. In this action, he had one horse shot under him, and another as he was mounting; and at the same instant, received slight wounds in the left foot and left hand.

In all councils of war, general Wayne was distinguished for supporting the most energetic and decisive measures. In the one previous to the battle of Monmouth, he and general Cadwalader were the only officers decidedly in favour of attacking the British army. The American officers are said to have been influenced by the opinions of the Europeans. The *baron de Steuben*, and generals Lee and Du Portail, whose military skill was in high estimation, had warmly opposed an engagement as too hazardous. But general Washington, whose opinion was in favour of an engagement, made such disposition as would be most likely to lead to it. In that action, so honourable to the American arms, general Wayne was conspicuous in the ardour of his attack. General Washington, in his letter to congress, observes, "Were I to conclude my account of this day's transactions without expressing my obligations to the officers of the army in general, I should do injustice to their merit, and violence to my own feelings. They seemed to vie with each other in manifesting their zeal and bra-

very. The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves, is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning brigadier-general Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery, throughout the whole action, deserves particular commendation."

In July, 1779, the American commander in chief having conceived a design of attacking the strong post of Stony Point, committed the charge of this enterprise to general Wayne. The garrison was composed of 600 men, principally highlanders, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Johnson. Stony Point is a considerable height, the base of which, on the one side, is washed by the Hudson river, and on the other is covered by a morass, over which there is but one crossing place. On the top of this hill was the fort; formidable batteries of heavy artillery were planted on it, in front of which, breast works were advanced and half way down, was a double row of abattis. The batteries commanded the beach and the crossing place of the morass. Several vessels of war were also in the river, whose guns commanded the foot of the hill. At noon, on the 15th of July, general Wayne marched from Sandy Beach, and arrived at eight o'clock in the evening, within a mile and a half of the fort, where he made the necessary disposition for the assault. After reconnoitering the situation of the enemy, at half past eleven, he led his troops with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, and without firing a single gun, completely carried the fort and made the garrison, amounting to 543, (the rest being killed) prisoners. In the attack, while at the head of Febiger's regiment, general Wayne received a wound in the head with a musket-ball, which, in the heat of the conflict, supposing mortal, and anxious to expire in the lap of glory, he called to his aids to carry him forward and let him die in the fort. The resistance, on the part of the garrison,

was very spirited. Out of the forlorn hope of 20 men, commanded by lieutenant Gibbon, whose business it was to remove the abattis, 17 were killed. For the brave, prudent, and soldier-like conduct displayed in this achievement, the congress presented general Wayne a gold medal emblematic of the action.

Immediately after the surrender of Stoney Point, general Wayne transmitted to the commander in chief, the following laconic letter:

"Stoney Point, July 16, 1779.

"2 o'clock, A. M.

"Dear General—The fort and garrison, with colonel Johnson, are ours; our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free.

"Yours most sincerely,

"ANTHONY WAYNE.

"GEN. WASHINGTON."

In the campaign of 1781, in which lord Cornwallis, and a British army were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, he bore a conspicuous part. His presence of mind never failed him in the most critical situations. Of this he gave an eminent example on the James River. Having been deceived by some false information, into a belief that the British army had passed the river, leaving but the rear guard behind, he hastened to attack the latter before it should also have effected its passage; but on pushing through a morass and wood, instead of the rear guard, he found the whole British army drawn up close to him. His situation did not admit of a moment's deliberation. Conceiving the boldest to be the safest measure, he immediately led his small detachment, not exceeding 800 men, to the charge, and after a short, but very smart and close firing, in which he lost 118 of his men, he succeeded in bringing off the rest under cover of the wood. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting the at-

tack to be a feint, in order to draw him into an ambuscade, would not permit his troops to pursue.

The enemy having made a considerable head in Georgia, Wayne was dispatched by general Washington to take command of the forces in that state, and, after some sanguinary engagements, succeeded in establishing security and order. For his services in that state the legislature presented him with a valuable farm.

On the peace, which followed shortly after, he retired to private life; but in 1789, we find him a member of the Pennsylvania convention, and one of those in favour of the present federal constitution of the United States.

In the year 1792, he was appointed to succeed general St. Clair, who had resigned the command of the army engaged against the Indians, on our western frontier. Wayne formed an encampment at Pittsburgh, and such exemplary discipline was introduced among the new troops, that, on their advance into the Indian country, they appeared like veterans.

The Indians had collected in great numbers, and it was necessary not only to rout them, but to occupy their country by a chain of posts, that should, for the future, check their predatory incursions. Pursuing this regular and systematic mode of advance, the autumn of 1793, found general Wayne with his army, at a post in the wilderness, called Greenville, about six miles in advance of fort Jefferson, where he determined to encamp for the winter, in order to make the necessary arrangements for opening the campaign to effect early in the following spring. After fortifying his camp, he took possession of the ground on which the Americans had been defeated in 1791, which he fortified also, and called the work fort Recovery. Here he piously collected, and, with the honours of war, interred the bones of the unfortunate al-

though gallant victims of the 4th November, 1791. This situation of the army, menacing the Indian villages, effectually prevented any attack on the white settlements. The impossibility of procuring the necessary supplies prevented the march of the troops till the summer. On the 8th of August, the army arrived at the junction of the rivers Au Glaize and Miami of the Lakes, where they erected works for the protection of the stores. About thirty miles from this place, the British had formed a post, in the vicinity of which the Indians had assembled their whole force. On the 15th the army again advanced down the Miami, and on the 18th arrived at the Rapids. On the following day they erected some works, for the protection of the baggage. The situation of the enemy was reconnoitred, and they were found posted in a thick wood, in the rear of the British fort. On the 20th the army advanced to the attack. The Miami covered the right flank, and on the left were the mounted volunteers, commanded by general Todd. After marching about five miles, major Price, who led the advance, received so heavy a fire from the Indians, who were stationed behind trees, that he was compelled to fall back. The enemy had occupied a wood in front of the British fort, which, from the quantity of fallen timber, could not be entered by the horse. The legion was immediately ordered to advance with trailed arms, and rouse them from their covert; the cavalry under captain Campbell, were directed to pass between the Indians and the river, while the volunteers, led by general Scott, made a circuit to turn their flank. So rapid, however, was the charge of the legion, that before the rest of the army could get into action, the enemy were completely routed, and driven through the woods for more than two miles, and the troops halted within gun-shot of the British fort. All the Indians' houses and corn-

fields were destroyed. In this decisive action, the whole loss of general Wayne's army, in killed and wounded, amounted only to one hundred and seven men. As hostilities continued on the part of the Indians, their whole country was laid waste, and forts established, which effectually prevented their return.

The success of this engagement destroyed the enemies' power; and, in the following year, general Wayne concluded a definitive treaty of peace with them.

A life of peril and glory was terminated in December, 1796. He had shielded his country from the murderous tomahawk of the savage. He had established her boundaries. He had forced her enemies to sue for her protection. He beheld her triumphant, rich in arts, and potent in arms. What more could his patriotic spirit wish to see? He died in a hut at Presque Isle, aged about fifty-one years, and was buried on the shore of Lake Erie.

A few years since his bones were taken up by his son, Isaac Wayne, Esq. and entombed in his native county; and by direction of the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, an elegant monument was erected. It is to be seen within the cemetery of St. David's church, situated in Chester county. It is constructed of white marble, of the most correct symmetry and beauty.

The South front exhibits the following inscription:

In honour of the distinguished
Military services of
Major General
ANTHONY WAYNE,
And as an affectionate tribute
of respect to his memory,
This stone was erected, by his
companions in arms,

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE SOCIETY

OF THE CINCINNATI,
 July 4th, A. D. 1809,
 Thirty fourth anniversary of
 The Independence of
 THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;
 An event which constitutes
 the most

Appropriate eulogium of an American
 SOLDIER AND PATRIOT.

The north front exhibits the following inscription:

Major General
 ANTHONY WAYNE,
 Was born at Waynesborough,
 in Chester county,
 State of Pennsylvania,
 A. D. 1745.

After a life of honour and usefulness,
 He died in December, 1796,
 at a military post
 On the shore of Lake Erie,
 Commander in chief of the army of
 THE UNITED STATES.

His military achievements
 are consecrated
 In the history of his country,
 and in

The hearts of his countrymen.

His remains
 Are here deposited.

YATES, ROBERT, was born on the 27th day of January, 1738, in the city of Schenectady, in the state of New York. At the age of sixteen he was sent by his parents to the city of New York, where he received a classical education, and afterwards studied the law with William Livingston, Esq. a celebrated barrister in that metropolis. On the completion of his studies, he was admitted to the bar, and soon after fixed his residence in the city

of Albany, where in due time, he received the degrees of solicitor and counsellor in the court of chancery. He soon became eminent in his profession, and on account of his incorruptible integrity, was known by the appellation of the *Honest Lawyer*. At the age of twenty-seven, he married Miss Jane Van Ness. On the prospect of a rupture between this country and Great Britain, his open and avowed principles as a *whig*, brought him into political notice, and several well written essays, which were the productions of his pen, contributed, in no small degree, to establish his reputation as a writer, in defence of the rights and liberties of his country. He had already held a seat as a member of the corporation of the city of Albany, and as attorney and counsel to that board; and he was soon after appointed a member of the *committee of public safety*, a body of men who were invested with almost inquisitorial powers, and who had justly become the dread and scourge of that class of men called *tories*. By the exertions of Mr. Yates, the proceedings of that tribunal were tempered with moderation, and the patriotic zeal of the community, confined within its proper and legitimate sphere of action. We find him not long afterwards, holding a seat in the provincial congress of his own state, and, during the recess of that body, performing the complicated and arduous duties of chairman of a committee for the organization and direction of *military operations* against the common enemy. In the year 1777, the constitution of New York was adopted, and Mr. Yates was an active and distinguished member of the convention that framed that instrument. During the same year he received, without solicitation, the appointment of a judge of the supreme court, at a time when an extensive and lucrative practice as a lawyer, held out to him strong inducements to decline its acceptance. Regardless, however, of private

interest, he entered upon the duties of that office, rendered at the same time peculiarly delicate and dangerous. He sat upon the bench, as a writer has expressed it, "with a halter about his neck," exposed to punishment as a *rebel*, had our efforts for emancipation proved abortive: nor were these the least of his dangers. For in counties ravaged or possessed by the enemy, or by secret domestic foes watching every opportunity to ruin or betray their country, he was sometimes obliged to hold his courts. But no dangers could appal nor fears deter him, from a faithful and honest performance of the functions of his office. He was particularly distinguished for his impartiality, in the trials of state criminals; and he was not unfrequently obliged to abate the intemperate zeal or ill-judged patriotism of the juries, who were to decide upon the fate of unfortunate prisoners. On one occasion, he sent a jury from the bar four times successively, to reconsider a verdict of conviction which they had pronounced most unwarrantably against the accused, merely because they *suspected* he was a *tory*, though without any proof that could authorise the verdict. As the accused had become very obnoxious to the great body of the whigs, the legislature were inflamed and seriously contemplated calling Judge Yates before them to answer for his conduct. But he was alike indifferent to censure or applause in the faithful and independent exercise of his judicial duties, and the legislature, at length, prudently dropped the affair. His salary during the war, was very small, and hardly sufficient for the support of himself and family. Indeed before the scale of depreciation of continental money had been settled, he received one years' salary in that money, at its *nominal* value, the whole of which was just sufficient (as he humourously observed) "to purchase a pound of green tea for his wife." He was often urged to

unite with some of his friends in speculating on *forfeited* estates during the war, by which he might easily have enriched himself, and his connexions, without censure or suspicion; and although such speculations were common, yet he would not consent to become wealthy upon the ruin of others. "No," said he, "I will sooner die a beggar than own a foot of land acquired by such means." In September, 1776, George Clinton, afterwards vice president of the United States, anxious to receive the co-operation of judge Yates, in certain measures, then deemed important and necessary, addressed him a letter, of which the following is an extract: "we have, at last, arrived at a most important crisis, which will either secure the independence of our country, or determine that she shall still remain in a state of vassalage to Great Britain. I know your sentiments on this subject, and I am extremely happy to find that they agree so exactly with mine. But as we are called upon to *act* as well as to *think*, your talents and exertions in the common cause cannot be spared."

After the conclusion of the revolutionary war, he was chosen, together with general Hamilton and chancellor Lansing, to represent his native state in the convention that formed the constitution of the United States; and to his labours in that convention we are indebted for the preservation of some of the most important debates that ever distinguished any age or country. He was also a member of the convention subsequently held in his native state, to whom that constitution was submitted for adoption and ratification. His political opinions were open and unreserved. He was opposed to a consolidated national government, and friendly to a confederation of the states, preserving their integrity and equality as such. Although the form of government eventually adopted, was not, in all its parts, agreeable to his views

and wishes, still, in all his discussions, and especially in his *judicial* capacity, he deemed it a sacred duty to inculcate entire submission to, and reverence for, that constitution. In the first charge which he delivered to a grand jury, immediately after its adoption, he used the following language: "the proposed form of government for the union, has at length received the sanction of so many of the states, as to make it the *supreme law of the land*, and it is not, therefore, any longer a question whether or not its provisions are such as they ought to be, in all their different branches. We, as good citizens, are bound implicitly to obey them, for the united wisdom of America has sanctioned and confirmed the act, and it would be little short of treason against the republic to hesitate in our obedience and respect to the constitution of the United States of America. Let me, therefore, exhort you, gentlemen, not only in your capacity as grand jurors, but in your more durable and equally respectable character as citizens; to preserve inviolate this charter of our national rights and safety; a charter second only in dignity and importance to the *declaration of our independence*. We have escaped, it is true, by the blessing of divine Providence, from the tyranny of a foreign foe, but let us now be equally watchful in guarding against worse and far more dangerous enemies—*domestic broils and intestine divisions*." Soon after this period he filled the important trust of commissioner, to treat with the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, on the subject of territory, and to settle certain claims of his native state, against the state of Vermont. In 1790, he received the appointment of chief justice of the state of New York, and was twice supported for the office of governor, to which latter office he was, on one occasion, elected by a majority of votes; but, on account of some real or supposed inaccuracy in some

of the returns, he did not receive the certificate of his election.

In January, 1798, having completed his sixtieth year, and with it, the constitutional term of his office, he retired from the bench, of which for twenty-one years he had been its ornament and pride; and resumed the practice of the law. So highly did the legislature estimate his former services and usefulness, that it was proposed in that body to fix an annual allowance or stipend on him for life, and the proposition actually passed the senate, but was laid aside in the assembly, as being supposed to savour too much of the monarchical regulation called *pensions*. Determined, however, to provide for an old and faithful public servant, who had worn out his better days for the good of his country, the legislature appointed him a commissioner to settle disputed titles to lands in the military tract, and this appointment he held till nearly the close of his life, when the law creating it, ceased by its own limitation. On the 9th day of September, 1801, he finished his mortal career, "full of honours and full of years," placing a firm reliance on the merits of an atoning Saviour, and the goodness of a merciful God. He left a widow and four children, two of whom only are now living, a son and daughter; the former John V. N. Yates, Esquire, present secretary of state, of the state of New-York.

Chief Justice Yates died poor. He had always been indifferent to his own private interest, for his benevolent and patriotic feelings, could not be regulated nor restrained by the cold calculations of avarice or gain. No man was more esteemed than himself. He never had, it is believed, in the whole course of his life, a personal enemy, and the tears of the widow, the orphan, the destitute and oppressed, followed him to his grave. He was emphatically the honest man and the upright judge. His talents were of the higher order, and his manners

were plain, attractive and unassuming. His opinions at *nisi prius*, were seldom found to be incorrect, and on the bench of the supreme court he was distinguished for a clear, discriminating mind, that readily arrived at the true merits of the case before him. It may be safely affirmed, that no single individual ever filled so many high and responsible stations with greater credit to himself, and honour to the state. His memory will be cherished as long as virtue is esteemed and talents respected, and his epitaph is written in the hearts of his fellow-citizens, and in the history of his country.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

THE period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust: it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country: and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness: but am supported by a full conviction, that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you. But mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself: and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes dubious; vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism; the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual! that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue. that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of Heaven, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of liberty; as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the

present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former, and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate

any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of **AMERICAN**, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts; of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The **NORTH**, in an unrestrained intercourse with the **SOUTH**, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The **SOUTH**, in the same intercourse benefiting by the agency of the **NORTH**, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand.—Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated: and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The **EAST**, in a like intercourse with the **WEST**, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for

the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort: and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own production, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest, as one nation.— Any other tenure, by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate or unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parties combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations. And, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty; and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether

a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation, in such a case, were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by GEOGRAPHICAL discriminations; NORTHERN and SOUTHERN; ATLANTIC and WESTERN; whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negociation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interest in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them

thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems, is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government. But, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever

plausible character, with a real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite. not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions, that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in

change upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyments of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of the parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed. But in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness; and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual. And, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight,) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection; and opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true: and, in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of this spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the

departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks, in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation: for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligations *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined edu-

education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle. It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also that timely disbursements to *prepare* for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to *repel* it; avoiding likewise the accumulations of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes: that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant, that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of

acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct: and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! it is rendered impossible by its vices!

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason

would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace, often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim. So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity: gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligations, commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the

jealousy of a free people ought to be **CONSTANTLY** awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when

we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice.

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far. I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing: establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that

it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations! but, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit; to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue; to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that

our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness. The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will be best referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been, to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things,

and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views it in the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ~~ever~~ favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th Sept. 1796.

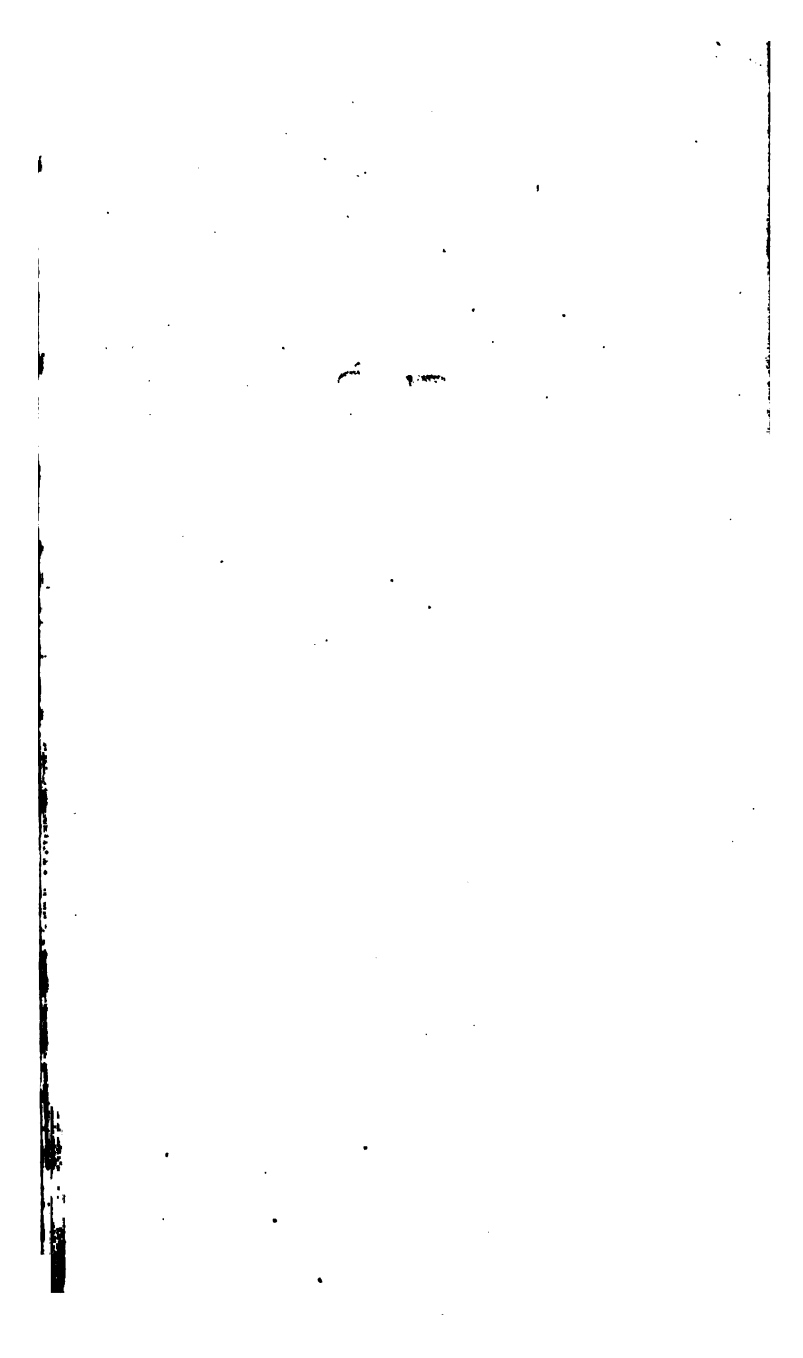
ADVERTISEMENT.

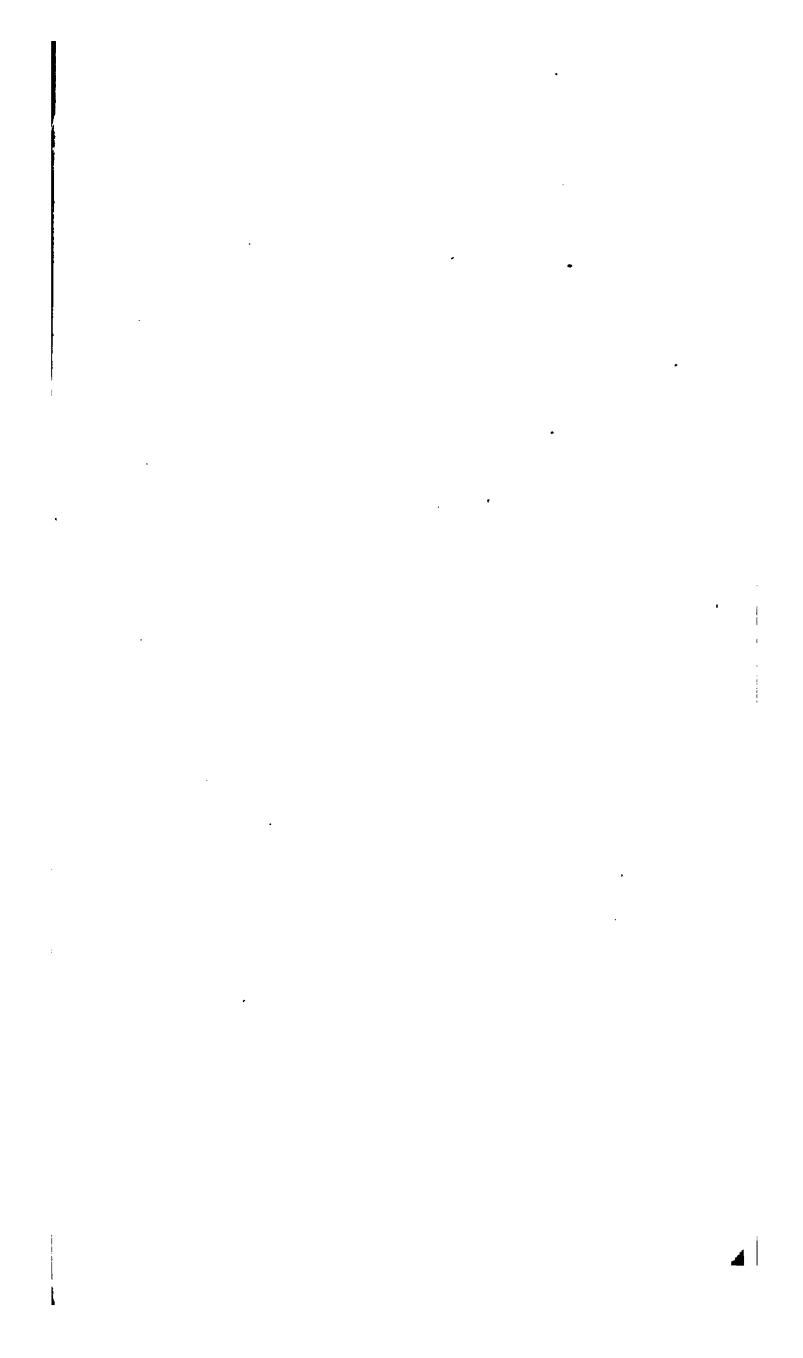
The compiler has given, in the present edition, several original biographical sketches, written by some of the most eminent men in our country; and he deems it proper to state, that since the present edition has been put to press, he has received other original sketches, which will be reserved for the *third* edition, to be comprised in an octavo volume, and to contain between four and five hundred pages. The very flattering encouragement already received for the third edition, would justify the Editor in putting it to press immediately; but having promised gentlemen in various parts of the Union, to delay it to enable them to collect and prepare sketches of our deceased heroes, sages, and statesmen, of the revolution, it will not be put to press until early next spring.

The compiler tenders his sincere thanks to those gentlemen who have so liberally patronised the work, and who furnished materials for it, and we may with confidence assert, that "as Americans, we hail with delight any attempt to rescue from oblivion the words or actions of those whose names we have been taught to revere."

Easton, Pennsylvania, August 12, 1823.

	PAGE.
Hancock, John,	212
—His oration commemorative of the Boston massacre, 1774,	214
Hawley, Joseph,	224
—His "broken hints,"	227
Henry, Patrick,	230
—His resolutions concerning the stamp act,	234
—His speech in the house of dele- gates of Virginia, on his motion to put the colony in a state of defence, in 1775,	241
—His conduct in the case of John Hook,	248
Hopkinson, Francis,	251
Hopkins, Stephen,	253
Knox, Henry,	255
Laurens, Henry,	260
Lee, Richard, Henry,	263
—His speech on his motion for the declaration of independence, June 1776,	264
Livingston, Philip,	271
Marion, Francis,	276
Interesting incident	279
Mifflin, Thomas,	283
Montgomery, Richard,	284
Putnam, Israel,	288
—His letter to governor Tryon,	292
Reed, Joseph,	292
Warren, Joseph,	296
Washington, George,	300
Wayne, Anthony,	316
—His laconic letter to general Washington immediately after the sur- render of Stony Point, 1779,	320
Yates, Robert,	324
President Washington's farewell address, to the people of the United States, an- nouncing his intention of retiring from public service.	336





THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

form 410



